Advocating a Federated World

World Unity

THIS MONTH

The New Ideal—*Editorial*
William Allen White—*Hinshaw*
World Federation—*Newfang*
Scientists and World Cooperation—*Shipley*
The Kingdom of Freedom—*Mager*

Pacific School of Religion Berkeley

Interpreting the spirit of the new age

Man Discovers Divinity—*Woodward*
Youth Answers for Religion—*Holley*

25 cents December 1932

A STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Issued October 1st, 1927

WORLD UNITY MAGAZINE, as its title implies, will endeavor to interpret and record those significant changes in present-day thought which mark the trend toward worldwide understanding and a humanized civilization able to release the finer aspirations of mankind.

Its essential purpose is to make accessible to awakened minds the views and conclusions of creative workers on subjects of truly general interest and importance. The emergence of new and higher values in philosophy, science, religion, ethics and the arts from the alembic of universal unrest represents the focal point of vision for World Unity Magazine.

To create a medium capable of responding faithfully, without prejudice of race, creed, class or nationality, to the uprush of the spirit of the age wherever or however manifested—this is the ideal to which World Unity Magazine is devoted; and faith in humanity arising at last to assert its organic oneness, the foundation on which it stands.

Constructive suggestions will be heartily welcomed from progressive individuals and organizations to assist the Magazine to fulfill its function as a clearing-house of ideas and plans reflecting the organic trends of the age toward world unity and cooperation. The Magazine will endeavor to publish significant articles of a stimulating character, without assuming responsibility for its contributors' views.

WORLD UNITY

INTERPRETING
THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, *Editor*
HORACE HOLLEY, *Managing Editor*

CONTENTS

Vol. XI **December, 1932** **No. 3**

David Starr Jordan *Frontispiece*

The New Ideal *Editorial*

William Allen White: Apostle of World Unity *David Hinshaw*

World Federation *Oscar Newfang*

Scientists and World Cooperation *Maynard Shipley*

China's Changing Culture *Frank Rawlinson*

The Kingdom of Freedom *Harold Mager*

Man Discovers Divinity *Hugh McCurdy Woodward*

Whither Bound Religion? *Paul Russell Anderson*

Youth Answers for Religion *Marion Holley*

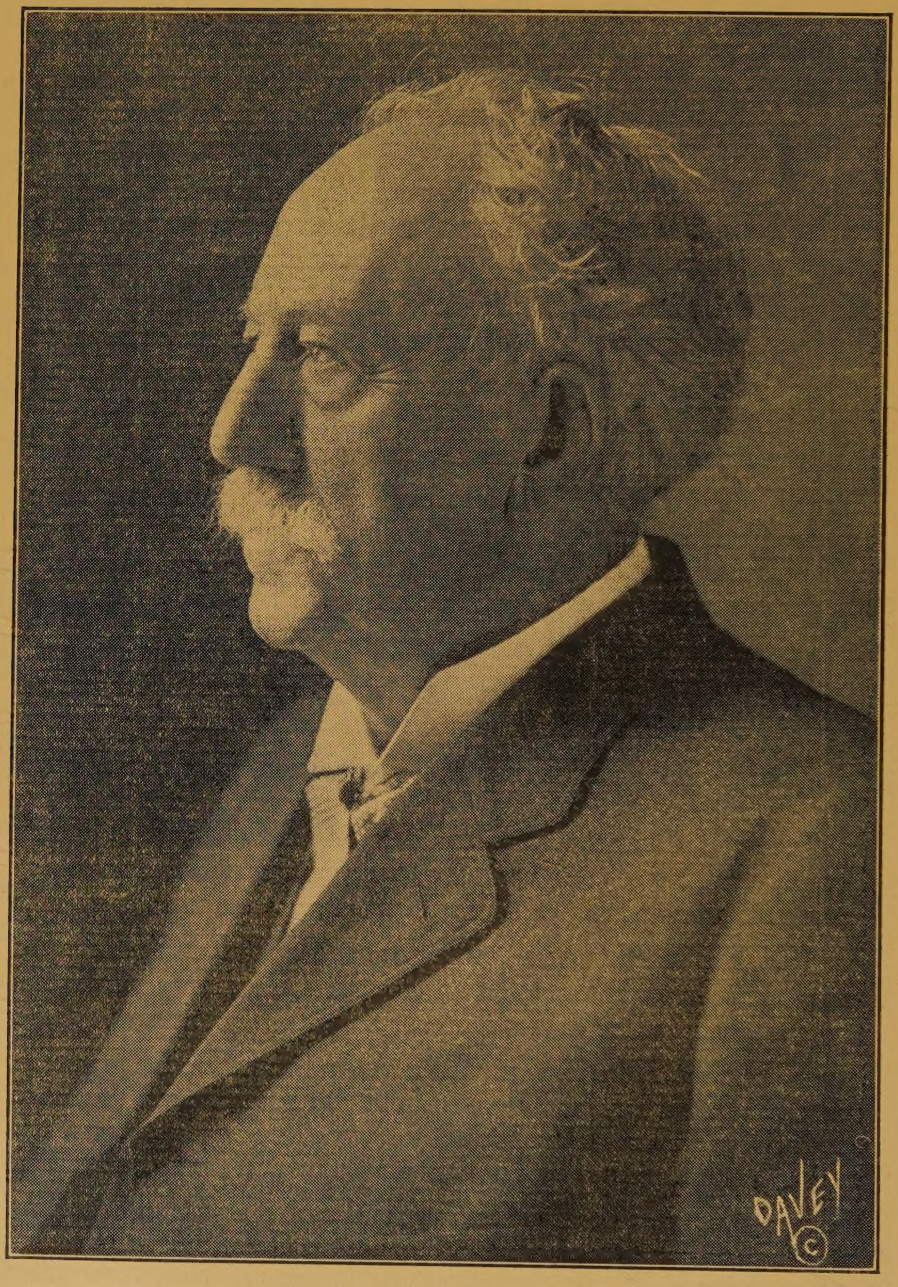
Correspondence *David G. Stead*

World Unity Endorses Goal of Federated World *Horace Holley*

Book Notes

Round Table

WORLD UNITY MAGAZINE is published by WORLD UNITY PUBLISHING CORPORATION, 4 East 12th Street, New York City: MARY RUMSEY MOVIUS, *president;* HORACE HOLLEY, *vice-president;* FLORENCE MORTON, *treasurer;* JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, *secretary.* Published monthly, 25 cents a copy, $2.50 a year in the United States and in all other countries (postage included). THE WORLD UNITY PUBLISHING CORPORATION and its editors welcome correspondence on articles related to the aims and purposes of the magazine. Printed in U. S. A. Contents copyrighted 1932 by WORLD UNITY PUBLISHING CORPORATION.



DAVID STARR JORDAN

(Published by the World Unity Memorial to David Starr Jordan)

THE NEW IDEAL

EDITORIAL

WITH the passing of "the sound and fury" of the political campaign this country faces its political future with mingled feelings of uncertainty and hope. One of the great disappointments of the campaign was the almost complete silence of both President Hoover and Mr. Roosevelt on those crucial questions having to do with the foreign policy of this country. With all the speeches made and the widespread broadcasting of the same there was a splendid opportunity for educating the people in all matters that bind this country so inextricably today to the rest of the world. President Hoover, to be sure, constantly reiterated his position on high, and still higher, tariffs, while his opponent talked vaguely and in a seemingly contradictory way about what he proposed to do in lowering tariffs. Aside from this there was practically no mention of such international problems as the War Debts, the Manchurian situation, the Disarmament conference, the recognition of Russia, the World Court, the League of Nations, the forthcoming World Economic conference, etc. It is easy to understand the political motives that soft-pedalled all these international questions. But how can the United States be expected to play its rightful part in world reconstruction when its political leaders refuse to discuss frankly and fully these questions which unite us so vitally to the rest of the world?

It is the absence of any frank and clear dealing with these grave international problems by our party leaders that leaves us as yet in doubt and uncertainty as to the foreign policy of the President-elect and the party that stands behind him. These questions

cannot be longer evaded. Some of them must be faced at once. And we await with keenest interest the announcement of the foreign policy involved in "the new deal" upon which in a very real sense depends the immediate fate of this country and of the world. It is well known that among the close advisers of Mr. Roosevelt are internationally minded men who have been outspoken as to the relation of this country to these world problems and who stand in no sense among the traditional isolationists. Will their influence be made effective in reviving the Wilsonian tradition with its ideals and spirit that made possible at the close of the War the beginnings of a new world order based on international cooperation with the great objective—the ultimate establishment of World Peace? In our judgment, this is the great opportunity that the overwhelming victory of November 8th presents to President-elect Roosevelt and the Democratic party.

What are some of the problems that this country must face in the near future and upon which we as a people must take some definite stand?

1. The Problem of Allied Debts. Two days after our election it was reported that our State Department had received "notes" from England and France asking as to our intentions about the Debts. When we remember that the ratification of the agreement as to reparations, reached at Lausanne last June, still waits upon the action of this country on the revision of the Allied Debts, and when we also remember that, rightly or wrongly, the nations involved have gained the impression that if Europe wiped out the reparations then the United States would be willing to reconsider the whole problem of War Debts, it is clear that some action in this matter must be taken in the very near future.

2. Germany's Demand for Equality in Arms. The new proposals of the French Government for disarmament which M. Paul Boncour has presented this month at Geneva, seem to open the way for reaching an agreement with Germany on this question that has occasioned fear in France that Germany was about to rearm again. Chancellor von Papen is quoted as saying, "at last there is a basis upon which we can talk." These French proposals together

with the Hoover proposals will mean a new lease of life for the Disarmament conference when it shall reconvene in January. Will this country work together with France in seeking an agreement with Germany or will it continue its policy of aloofness, refusing to grant a consultative pact and neutrality which France asks?

3. The Manchurian Situation. The Lytton Report presents a clean-cut challenge to the League of Nations which cannot be evaded. This report came before the League on November 14th and upon its decision in the matter hangs the fate of the league and of the machinery for peace as thus far developed. Will this country stand by the position already taken in Secretary of State Stimson's interpretation of the Kellogg Pact, and still more, will it give its full moral support to the League in sustaining this interpretation?

4. The World Economic Conference. The date for this conference has not yet been fixed, but it will come early in 1933. The preliminary Committees are already at work upon the agenda. Will this country enter frankly, and in the spirit of cooperation, into the work of this conference, refusing to shut out the discussion of War debts or tariffs or any other problem upon which the economic recovery of the world depends? If it will there is the opportunity for real progress in the solution of these basic economic problems.

It is upon the attitude of this country toward such immediate problems, as well as the many others that must be faced, that the success of the new world order, now trembling in the balance, depends. As Montagu Norman of the Bank of England has recently said: "If the nations could only get together and act together, all our problems might be solved." It is not too much to say that the United States, under its new leadership, has now the opportunity of playing a decisive part in bringing about such united action on the part of the nations.

J.H.R.

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE
Apostle of World Unity

by

DAVID HINSHAW

WHAT manner of man is this who edits a newspaper in a small Kansas town far removed from the deeply moving currents of international thought and yet sees them so clearly, interprets them so completely?

One of the remarks most frequently made about William Allen White of Emporia, is to the effect he has demonstrated that a man can live in a small inland town and at the same time command the national audience. He has demonstrated this, and what is considerably more important he has demonstrated the rare ability of having been able to hold that audience's attention for nearly four decades.

Those who follow his writings like his piquancy of expression, his clarity of understanding and his penetrating analytical ability. They like his tolerance and they like his friendliness and neighborliness too. But best of all, they like what he stands for because he has lived it: His frankness and his freedom from cant are refreshing. He loves peace as dearly as any Irishman who ever fought for it and the only thing in life dearer to him than a fight is to be helpful to his vanquished foe.

Here we get a fundamental key to the man's character, an answer to the riddle of his exalted position. He does not quarrel with the individual but he attacks with all his force the evil thing his opponent is supporting . . . men and women to him are God's finest handiwork, who, due to background, inheritance, opportunity and whatever not, stand for and accomplish in life all that well may be expected of them. But they kill or lie, are selfish, indiscreet

or cruel because of the devil in them. The devil, to White, must always be fought even though he recognizes that the devil has some qualities which may be possibly fair.

This then is a partial answer to the man and an explanation for the exalted position he holds. His neighborliness and friendliness with individuals is not merely that engendered by the small town but has the universality of the warm heart and open mind in all countries and all climes. His ideals are the finest fruit of the race's ideals and his success is a lasting vindication of the essential truth of such copy book maxims as "Hitch your wagon to a star," "Honesty is the best policy," "Hard work brings success," "Sincerity creates confidence," "No battle was ever won by half-believers," and a score of others which deal with earnestness, wholesomeness, gentleness, singleness of purpose, great moral earnestness and tremendous strength.

He has written nine or ten books, scores of magazine articles and editorials for the Emporia Gazette without number. It has been said the finest writing he does is in his Gazette editorials. "There is in them a quality of audacity, tempered with a well-considered verbal extravagance, that always makes the piece hit the mark without leaving a scar." The verbal extravagance no doubt attracts his audience but it is because his mind walks by itself that he has kept on compelling others to think in unaccustomed channels. His ability to make each word carry its full load developed in his teens when as a reporter on a country newspaper he set type on his own stories as he composed them. He has explained that being an extremely lazy youth he shunned verbosity and at the same time told his story with short graphic words, because the shorter the word and the more concise the story the fewer pieces of type to handle.

He is the product of Kansas—born in Emporia on February 10, 1868. His father was a country doctor and a Thomas Jefferson Democrat. His mother was a college graduate, one of the few women college graduates of that day and an intense abolitionist Republican. She early gave her son a working understanding of the ageless principle of helping the less fortunate, a principle which

knows no national boundaries; and she gave him an early acquaintanceship of the best literature of the race, and it too knows no national boundaries. His own State, Kansas, had been settled by the extremists, the idealists and courageous of the nation. Those from the North determined to make it a free State, and those from the South equally determined to make it a slave State. So he grew up in an atmosphere of ideals and outlook that gave him breadth of horizon and he grew up during a period when the common struggles of a pioneering age made people wondrous-kind, when the good in people comes out and the bad has been submerged through neighborly helpfulness. So he has come to full stature still interested in helping the pioneers all over the world turn constructive kindliness into world cooperative neighborliness.

His Kansas background explains much of the man for there the last bitterness of the crisis leading to freedom of slaves spent its force. Youth learned to understand and sympathize with proponents of each side of the cause because it could see for itself that the opponents did not have the horns, tails and cloven hoofs human beings picture their opponents as having. In such a setting there was extraordinary opportunity for the full development of that touch of genius which Mr. White shares with other of the beloved gods: The power to assay the gold for his purpose in every character and disregard its alloy; to discover and capitalize the one common ideal in minds antagonistic on other matters. A striking demonstration of his ability to do this was demonstrated by his association with Ehilu Root, Henry Cabot Lodge, Nicholas Murray Butler, William Howard Taft, and Charles Evans Hughes as fellow Vice-Presidents of the League to Enforce Peace, which organization was the forerunner of the League of Nations and developed the reservations for the League of Nations. During the period of greatest activity of this organization and Mr. White's association with these gentlemen he was an active member of the Bull Moose party, a political organization which was anathema to most, if not all, the gentlemen named. But at no time did Mr. White permit their differences concerning political principles to interfere with

their efforts to create sentiment for international peace.

Every nation has developed two widely divergent schools of political thought. Our nation continued the record. We have the one which Alexander Hamilton, the proletarian, bequeathed us which calls for a strong central government to be run by the ruling classes, and the other bestowed upon us by Thomas Jefferson, the aristocrat, who opposed a strong central government and favored the development of the power of the states in which the people were to be supreme.

All down through our national history, these two theories of government have clashed—sometimes with great bitterness. But they have never become reconciled. The last two great exponents of these theories were Theodore Roosevelt, the Hamiltonion, and Woodrow Wilson, the Jeffersonian. No one now in his 30's needs be reminded of the vast differences between these characters, not mere differences of personality, mind and method, but in their attitude towards each other and their estimate of each other as reflected through the working out of their particular theories of government. Each man made a great contribution to his time and to the world, strangely enough somewhat familiar in fundamentals for both were idealists, and the lasting contribution of each were the lifting up of great ideals which they popularized and ennobled. But the personalities of the men and the principles for which they stood were never reconciled. Even after Roosevelt died he was anathema to Wilson's followers; and Wilson, though dead for several years, continues to be anathema to many of Roosevelt's supporters.

Not a great many of the followers of either are yet able to look kindly upon the opponent of their hero. William Allen White, however, has bridged the gap, has reconciled his estimates and opinions, his loyalties and profound affection, and is a trustee of both the Roosevelt Memorial Association and was a founding director of the Wilson Memorial Association. His tolerance and understanding, his shrewd judgment of values and his courage made his selection in each instance a natural one. He loved Roosevelt for the man he was, the indomitable spirit he had, the national

conscience he became. And he exalted Wilson for his vision of world peace, for his audacity. As a younger man, he saw eye to eye with Roosevelt in interpretating and operating the Hamiltonian theory . . . but Roosevelt was more than a Hamiltonian for he believed and practised the theory that goverment exists as an agency of human welfare to promote justice between citizens and this bound White to him. Roosevelt, the Hamiltonian, was a liberal; and Wilson, the Jeffersonian, accepted liberal leadership. White has said of Wilson: "War conquered Wilson, but he rallied; and in one supreme intellectual struggle, wherein he was hampered by a heavy armor of moral defects, Wilson—intriguing clumsily, sometimes puerilely, but always for the glory of God—lost his soul to save the peace of the world. That peace, whatever it may be worth, was the first fruit of the world's liberal movement in the last quarter of the old century and the first quarter of the new."

And in another place, White wrote of Wilson: "Probably in history the Liberal movement of the nineties and the first two decades of this century in America will have one major contribution to Western civilization: that will be the idea first institutionalized in 1919, at Paris, of a World Association in the interests of international welfare, justice, and peace. The economic and political expansion which came as a result of an enlightened conscience in America, came as the natural expansion of the economic life of the world under the stimulus of steam and electricity. A rough approximation of justice has followed this natural expansion, which brought in a late phase of the new world revolution that started in the midst of the nineteenth century; the marvelous distribution of goods necessary under mass production, quick sales, high wages, and low costs. Justice has followed this last turn of the wheel—justice of a kind. The next variation of industrial life must be in world organization. And in its rudimentary forms the Wilson idea marked a notable change, a forward movement in the evolution of mankind."

So Wilson too bound White to him for White is an idealist, a "vague, wistful idealist" he says, and in describing his kind of idealism, goes on: "All idealism is that if it is sane. The material-

istic view of life is simple because it is at any time easy to demonstrate the thesis of materialism, even its progmatic reality, statistically, or actually by any rule of thumb. The materialistic philosophy holds dogmatically that things are bad; so probably will be worse. The premise is unassailable, the conclusion may not be logically gainsaid. And yet—in these two words lies the idealist's creed. For in that nebulous, indefinable hope he is convinced with Job that his redeemer liveth, that life is worth while, that dreams come true, that man's visions are God's reality."

Although he is a "vague, wistful idealist" he also has the astonishing practical penetration we call genius in seeing "the two sides of every political proposal." This ability was undoubtedly developed by the youthful White in trying to reconcile his sympathies with his father's Jeffersonian Democracy and his mother's "black abolitionist Republican" views. He strove to develop theories which justified the irreconcilable positions of his parents. And regardless of whether or not he could develop satisfactory theories he was able to look at their divergent opinions with sympathy and tolerance and understanding.

This ability to see both sides and to understand the whole clearly is well illustrated in his statement: "One of the major mistakes of the liberal leaders was that they sought to make government the only agency of human welfare. They forgot that masses who require the stimulation of a just prosperity for their happy well-being must themselves first learn to love justice in their own hearts before they can get much out of prosperity except food and clothes and shelter. Liberal governments brought much prosperity to Christendom, distributed the prosperity with something like equity—only to find that the classes they had improved materially were just as greedy and dull as their oppressors had been in the days before liberalism broke the rusted chains of economic feudalism. Government helped as an agency of human welfare; it failed as the only agency."

One could probably expect Mr. White, the editor of a middle western county seat town to be provincial as far as world problems are concerned. But here again he does the unusual. He perhaps

more than any other man awakened his section of America to the peace ideal and the understanding of the need for international cooperation.

In an introductory note to a collection of his editorials on world affairs, Mr. White wrote: "The interesting thing about this group of editorials is that they begin with the beginning of the Great War. Before that no country editor in the Middle West ever editorialized on anything east of Sandy Hook—except on the Fourth of July. But now we all have a foreign policy out in the tall grass, and these editorials, while they are probably not in line with the policy of the region, are no more fantastic than if they were in line, which brings some comfort."

In one of these editorials, he said: ". . . . War is a disease of civilization from which no country is immune when it breaks out . . . . America's job is a world job. Our isolation is a fiction. We are in Europe now, no matter how we feel that the Atlantic severs us. The great currents of human feeling sweeping across civilization, the great waves of economic pressure rising with the rise of population all over the earth breed wars and we cannot keep out of wars if we remain a part of civilization. But doing our full duty as a neighbor among the nations of the earth we may prevent war."

In another editorial headed "The Unpardonable Sin," the first paragraph runs: "The one sin which society never forgives is that of the man or woman who opposes war, as war. To say forthright and boldly that dispute between nations may be settled by arbitrations, by conference, or by adjudication mean in the mob's mind that you are a traitor to your country."

In this same group the following appeared: "Europe seems to be water-logged in suspicion and hate. Three years ago France started in to make Germany helpless against France, and has succeeded in justifying the French fear that Germany is implacable. Great Britain tried to violate the decencies by inordinate demands for contributions from Germany, and now finds a bankrupt Continent slowly lurching into anarchy. America sought to withdraw her moral support from the world and lost her moral sense at

home, 'and without vision the people perish.'

"The political manifestation of fear and hate is as inexorable as the political phase of any other state of mind. Christendom is founded upon credit. Credit is faith and good will. Remove faith and good will from the world and it will revert to the barbarism from which Christianity as a philosophy rescued the world. Reversion to barbarism is primarily the economic status of those who let fear and hate govern their lives. Until we get back to some general acceptance of Christian philosophy in our international relations, the jungle will keep edging in upon a shattered Christendom. The Wilson ideal lies mouldering in the grave, but its soul goes marching on!"

His ability to see both sides, and better still to understand and sympathize with both sides is splendidly illustrated in an editorial which appeared in the Gazette early in 1932: "A Paris dispatch declares that France is seriously considering an excursion into Russia to restore the Russian monarchy. General Baron Wrangel seems to think that with French military aid, French munitions and equipment, he can take 40,000 men and conquer the Bolshevists. The general baron failed not long ago to conquer Russia with twice that number of men. And during the past five years, half a dozen other generals and admirals with ten times 40,000 men have tackled Russia and have not made even a dent in her armor.

"Why not try reason?

"The Russians are human. They have a mad government, but it is more or less dependent upon popular consent, though, of course, not so much as other civilized governments. If the Allies care to appeal by decent treatment of Russia, by unmistakably disinterested and humanitarian measures to the Russian people, it may put Christian civilization further into Russia than all of Wrangel's impotent guns.

"And, anyway, what has war done for this world that we should try it again? Did it avail humanity anything when the whole world went to war? Who is worse off, the victim or the victors? What creed is established in the world by force? Certainly not democracy. A score of million men are dead and

wounded, and for what? Why hug the old delusion that war will make men free?

"Hasn't the human race any intelligence left?"

The foregoing are words—appealing, convincing and powerful. A person not knowing Mr. White might say that they are unattainable ideals. One answer to such a statement is available in what White did as a member of the Hoover Haitian Commission. The Commission was met with a resentment increasingly fomented throughout our occupation. The arrival of the Commission caused throngs of Haitians to march the streets in a riot which would have been revolutionary but for the presence of our warships in the harbor. Mr. White, as a member watching the demonstrations, suddenly changed that resentment to reception. His account of the incident follows: "What actually happened was this: I had been in the church where the women were singing their patriotic prayers. I tried to get round the procession and into my hotel but was caught at the hotel gate; and, to avoid being rude, I stood for a moment looking at the parade.

"Suddenly a peasant woman, lean and gray and wrinkled and very black, wearing a blue calico gown, darted out of the line and knelt or bowed low before me, speaking excitedly in the Haitian-French patois which I could not understand and holding out a little homemade flag. I extended my hand to help her rise, and she darted back into the line. There she stood trembling for a few seconds and, the eyes of the leader being on her, she and they and everyone were a bit embarassed.

"It was not a diplomatic situation; it was just human. I smiled my prettiest and most reassuring smile and in lieu of language blew from my finger tips a kiss to the frightened old woman. The crowd caught quickly what I was trying to do for the awkward situation and cheered. That also was not international, just a human response. We all understood one another and were happy."

The Associated Press dispatch reported "the women leaders crying with happiness" and stated that the "roar of cheers was heard all over the city." Haiti was now ready to believe that finally a commission had arrived to study the situation without an ax to

grind with the Marine Corps or with the finance group.

Following Saturday's boycott the hearings of the Commission opened Monday morning to a full house.

Another time, a writer of more smartness than perspicacity referred disparagingly to Emporia in a magazine article. Emporia is the apple of Mr. White's eye. The conclusion of his answer was: "....It is hard to say whether a community in which there is a fairly high grade of literacy, a fairly low degree of poverty, and practically no crime, is worth while. Perhaps Athens with more of these things gave more to the world than more circumspect and righteous cities. Doubtless Babylon gave less. About our own larger cities, with their inequities of living conditions, who can surely tell the truth? Does the prong of the harrow in the heart make men secrete something which the race needs for its permanent happiness, something called art? And perhaps it needs that secretion more than it needs justice in the terms of living. Who can say? Only if there is any merit in establishing a nearer approach to the approximate justice of God in the relations of life, these small towns have some merit. But these institutions and these relations come only after hard work by a few people who lead. So perhaps it may not be the last word of wisdom to dismiss all the vast amounts of aspiration, struggle, 'long days of labor and nights devoid of ease,' which scores of their citizens year after year put upon their local problems, with the snippy snort—'Ever see Emporia?'"

An editorial of White's printed on July 27, 1922 attracted world-wide attention. It was written in the midst of bitterness of the railway brotherhood strike as a result of differences which had arisen between him and his life-long close friend, Governor Henry J. Allen. White had taken the position that the strikers were entitled to the freedom of speech which was denied them, and for his part in upholding the rights of the strikers, his friend the Governor was on the point of placing him in jail because his act violated a State law. This editorial won the Pulitzer prize for that year: "You tell me that law is above freedom of utterance. And I reply that you can have no wise laws nor free enforcement of wise

laws unless there is free expression of the wisdom of the people—and, alas, their folly with it. But if there is freedom, folly will die of its own poison, and the wisdom will survive. That is the history of the race. It is the proof of man's kinship with God. You say that freedom of utterance is not for time of stress, and I reply with the sad truth that only in time of stress is freedom of utterance in danger. No one questions it in calm days, because it is not needed. And the reverse is true also; only when free utterance is suppressed is it needed, and when it is needed, it is most vital to justice. Peace is good. But if you are interested in peace through force and without free discussion—that is to say, free utterance decently and in order—your interest in justice is slight. And peace without justice is tyranny, no matter how you may sugarcoat it with expediency. This state today is in more danger from suppression than from violence, because, in the end, suppression leads to violence. Violence, indeed, is the child of suppression. Whoever pleads for justice helps to keep the peace; and whoever tramples upon the plea for justice temperately made in the name of peace only outrages peace and kills something fine in the heart of man which God put there when we got our manhood. When that is killed, brute meets brute on each side of the line.

"So, dear friend, put fear out of your heart. This nation will survive, this state will prosper, the orderly business of life will go forward if only men can speak in whatever way given them to utter what their hearts hold—by voice, by posted card, by letter or by press. Reason never has failed men. Only force and repression have made the wrecks in the world."

His ability to see both sides of every political question and his sympathy with the high purposes of man regardless of personalities involved has never been better illustrated than in the editorial which appeared February 7, 1921, entitled "The Two Broken Old Men": "One at Washington, palsied and frail, who made war and brought a hundred million people into a great cataclysm that piled up debt for countless generations, and filled the land with hate and suspicion. In some future days the fruits of the war will ripen into righteousness, but now they are bitter persimmons. The war

and all that it stands for—justly or unjustly—is accursed in the hearts of the people.

"Another old man is working under the broiling sun in the federal prison at Atlanta. He stood up and denounced war—this war—as God's curse upon the world. So the first old man sent the second old man to jail. The present, with its greed and suspicion and depression and hatreds, seems to justify this old man's curse upon war; and yet he is in prison.

"And on the other hand the future with its united world under a league of peace, 'the federation of the world,' for which the frail old man at Washington brought America into the war will justify that old man. But the two broken old men, each despising the immediate endeavor and the immediate aims of the other, yet both working for the same brotherhood of man, present a strange concord of discords that will merge into ultimate harmonies. Wilson and Debs, two sad old men, wrecks of the war!"

These excerpts from his editorials give considerably more than an understanding glimpse of the joyous richness of the man's life, his bouyancy of spirit and his forthrightness; his freshness and vigor are admirable; his breadth of mind and impartiality are worthy of emulation.

In his capacity as country editor, recognized writer and politician, he has found that idealism pays; that in the long run honesty and fairness and unselfish service produce lasting results. He has contributed materially to make Emporia what she is. Almost any other community of about the same size would have served his purpose for his tools are neighborliness and kindliness, fairness and hopefulness. Given these qualities the magic of his genius was bound to produce a sturdy and agreeable town. He has been able to glorify the small town because he likes people, understands them and knows the common life. He has translated this liking and understanding into terms that belong to society everywhere in a manner that helps us all see our faults and define our ideals.

His boyhood in Kansas was filled with daily repercussions of the Civil War. He early saw and understood the savagery and the waste of war and its hopeless futility. So he has lifted a clear voice

against all war. His boyhood was also filled daily with the discussion of politics: and with the bickering and the dickering of men who knew what they wanted and got it at the public expense. So he became the people's political counsel. At the conclusion of a particularly hard fought national campaign in which he was his party's leader in Kansas, he remarked to his assistant: "There hasn't been a single thing done by our side that our worst political enemies could have called improper or unfair," and this statement was true.

His personal and business life in Emporia have been modeled upon this same high plane, with the result that his position is almost unique. There is neither disposition nor plan to suggest that Mr. White always has been or is the perfect human being. But the fact should be established that he has grown in character and has perfected the art of human relations year by year. He is a remarkable man who sees life whole and not in segments or strata or through prejudices: the principles which sustain him are the ones by which the race has advanced. As a trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation he keeps in close touch with humanitarian work all over the world. As a member of many different peace organizations he makes his influence for world peace felt. As a writer of editorials in the Emporia Gazette he today indicates to his party or the nation the position they will eventually reach. He may speak out of turn occasionally and draw fire of politicians for so doing but after the discussion cools off it is clear that his principles and not political expediency prompted his statements. These are all great services to humanity and withal the services of a man whose nobility of neighborliness and friendliness blossoms fairest in his own home town.

The thirty-fourth article in the series *"Apostles of World Unity,"* begun in October, 1927.

WORLD FEDERATION

by

OSCAR NEWFANG

Author of "The Road to World Peace," "The United States of the World," etc.

AT the close of the World War the need of a world organization to maintain international peace was universally recognized. This statement is proved by the fact that more than fifty nations have joined the League of Nations, which now includes every important country in the world except two.

Twelve years' experience with the League has made it abundantly clear, even to the warmest friends of that organization, that the loose, confederate structure of the League is not strong enough to prevent a breach of international peace, especially when a first-class power adopts military measures to attain its ends.

The experience of every confederation of states that has existed in history has invariably shown that, before permanent peace between states could be achieved, it was necessary to develop the confederation of states, the alliance of governments, into a true federation. That was the experience of the United States between 1777 and 1787; it was the experience of Germany in 1870; it was the much earlier experience of Switzerland, which led the Swiss cantons to form the Swiss Federation, finally crystallized in the constitution of 1848.

How would world problems be solved by developing the League of Nations into a Federation of Nations?

International peace could be firmly established by means of a world court with original and compulsory jurisdiction in all disputes between states, a court whose decisions would be peacefully enforced by reason of the existence of a world executive with military power superior to that of any state or group of states. About seventy-five disputes between American states have been settled

peacefully by the United States Supreme Court and the federal executive. In Switzerland people of three languages, whose mother countries have been among the most pugnacious on the Continent, have been successfully welded into a peaceful federation.

Disarmament of member states could be readily achieved when all states were guaranteed against military aggression by the superior force of their federation. The great empire state of New York is satisfied with a handful of police motor boats to protect its world-famous harbor, because it can rely upon the federal navy for protection.

The chaotic currencies of the world could readily be eliminated by the establishment of a single gold reserve in the Bank for International Settlements and a world currency based on this reserve. That would eliminate the endless scheming and anxiety in every country about favorable or unfavorable trade balances. Financial New York has no more worries about the balance of trade across the Hudson River than it has about the direction of the wind across the Hudson.

The unshackling of trade throughout the world could be achieved, because countries would not, in fear of attack, insist on autarchy. The benefits of world-wide free markets can be appreciated by all who trade in the vast free markets of the United States. The British Empire, following the American federation, is even now working toward empire-wide markets for its industries and its agriculture.

Of the only two important nations outside the League Russia is even now ardently in favor of a world federation (although with the proviso that the states forming the world federation must be soviet states). The United States is familiar with the benefits of a federal union after its century and a half of experience with this form of union. If the United States should see that the whole vast League territory was to be a great free market, it would be very likely to see that its interest lay in getting inside the garden instead of being outside the garden wall, in the same way that Rhode Island finally saw the light when the American federation was formed.

How shall we go about developing the League of Nations into a Federation of Nations? If the peace societies in the principal countries can be persuaded to get back of this definite program of the necessary development of the League into a federation of nations, these societies could very probably induce the League authorities to appoint a committee for a thorough study of the problem of federation as shown in the histories of the existing federations in Switzerland, the United States, Germany, Australia, Canada, South Africa, and elsewhere. This committee would naturally report to the Assembly a draft of a federal constitution to supercede the League covenant after adoption by the member states.

It would be advisable to persuade the League to submit this draft for adoption, not to the executive governments of the members, but to the whole citizenship of the members, since the executive governments would be very loth to accept an arrangement that would diminish their supreme importance.

World Unity recommends that this proposal be discussed by the various peace societies and organizations, and it would be glad to hear from them, whether or not they favor a program of World Federation for world peace and human brotherhood.

SCIENTISTS AND WORLD COOPERATION

by

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WE are told very often, especially by lovers of words and haters of meanings, that ours is a scientific age. This is more "thobbing" than thinking. Relatively to other eras, science (particularly applied science) plays a more prominent part in our daily living than it has ever done before; but compared to what a scientific age would really be—see Bertrand's Russell's "The Scientific Outlook"—ours is not one at all. It would be more nearly precise to say that ours is an industrial age which *should be* scientific.

In other words, we have an unfilled social need for scientific control. Veblen's dream of government by engineers has come partially true in Russia, but nowhere else as yet. But it will and must come true, for the very good reason that nationalism as a mode of civilized living is on its deathbed. There are no entirely self-contained nations—none that could subsist industrially without importing anything they need—not even Russia or the United States of America. To feed and clothe and shelter and amuse our people, we are dependent on the people of other countries, as they in turn are dependent on us. And we can no longer make by exploitation of virgin markets the money we need to buy the things they have and we want. Years ago I used in my lectures a chart showing a map of the world, with the territories marked in black which had not yet been opened to the salesmanship of Europe and America. Today those black areas are all gone, and if we are to survive, we modern industrial nations, we must do it by "taking in each other's washing."

Now, an internationalism so forced upon the most nationalistically-minded, by economic rather than political forces, is largely caused by the spread of invention and applied science (which in turn are branches of a tree whose root is pure science), and can be directed and administered only by scientific methods and men. If our scientists were an esoteric priestly cult, keeping their knowledge only for trained and secret disciples, scientific dictatorship of a unified international world would by this time be an established fact. But our approach to the acquisition and dissemination of science, in the modern Occidental world, has been exactly the opposite of this. Our endeavor has been to open the road freely, to make scientific achievement and theory plain to anyone who can understand them, and to welcome gladly all who would become co-workers. Our scientists are not single-minded automata who live solely for and in their learning, but for the most part quite ordinary human beings, with emotions and prejudices like those the rest of us have, once they are outside their special field. Hence we are treated to the spectacle of England's foremost comparative anatomist urging the benefits of race prejudice, and America's greatest physicist preaching religious submission and faith.

The supreme test of internationalism, which of course regards all nations as mere sections of a common humanity, whose likenesses are far greater than their differences, is the existence of a war. Ideally, in that atavistic crisis, however the common run of citizens may be moved to hatred and propaganda-born disparagement of the enemy nationals, the scientists should sit serene in their ivory tower, and continue (even under practical difficulties) their cooperative research into the problems of nature. Under our given conditions, it is obvious that this does not occur. Not only do the scientists of each of the warring countries bend all their efforts to the production of newer and more frightful means of killing and mangling the compatriots of their fellow-scientists, but they are also inveigled, all but the very greatest of them, into signing manifestoes and jeremiads directed against the adversary nation which are indistinguishable from the howls of rage of the most emotional and least thoughtful of their co-citizens. During

the World War, both sides of the conflict presented shameful exhibits of this nature, and the apologies later on were few and grudging. The Spirit of Science, which is universal or nothing, might have laughed amid tears to hear American professors of chemistry and physics, trained in German universities and laboratories, hotly proclaiming that German science was all second-rate and imitative!

In every war there have been noble exceptions, but they are little chronicled and hard to find. It is true that in 1830 a friend, coming to Goethe, was assailed with "What's the news from Paris?" and proceeded to an account of the latest doings of the current revolution, only to be told impatiently, "I don't mean that —I mean news of the debate between Cuvier and St. Hilaire!" But Germany and France were not at war with each other at the time. During the Napoleonic wars, when the two nations *were* in conflict, Goethe, to be sure, paid little attention to battles and buried himself in the study of optics instead; but I know of no proof of his correspondence or cooperation with French scientists at the time. Many Germans who were not scientists—Beethoven, for example—welcomed Napoleon in the earlier revolutionary years of his career.

An apter instance is that of Pavlov, whose assistant came to work ten minutes late one day, and excused himself by a reference to the revolution which has since been so kind to Pavlov and which he has repaid with so much ingratitude. "What difference does a revolution make," snapped the old man, "when you have work in the laboratory to do?" That is the true spirit of the withdrawn and single-purposed researcher, and undoubtedly Pavlov's retort would have been the same had it been extra-national instead of civil war which was raging in the streets. This, however, is not internationalism, but aloof absorption.

On both sides, during the World War, foreign correspondents were dropped from scientific societies, and enemy aliens were not saved from interment because they were teaching science in universities or studying it in laboratories. On the other hand, in at least one instance within my knowledge this action was tempered

by common sense. Malinowski, as an Austrian Pole, was interned in New Zealand; but instead of being shut up in a prison camp he was allowed to spend the duration of the war in free study among the Trobriand Islanders, with the result that he secured the material for his massive and important work, "The Sexual Life of Savages."

But because warring governments are usually blind to the international aspects of science, and because individual scientists themselves are often patriots first and scientists a long way after, it does not follow that such an attitude is either desirable or necessary. So long as war continues, there will of course be practical provinces of science that are too directly connected with military technique to remain open to the approach of workers of the opposed nations. A government which allowed enemy aliens to use its laboratories for, say, investigation into methods of producing new poison gases would be grotesque and inconceivable. I do think, however, that increasing enlightenment, if it cannot yet prevent war altogether, will gradually accustom the people at large to the toleration of scientific cooperation between subjects of adversary nations in fields (such as medical research) where the objective is constructive, not destructive. That may seem a very small and paltry step, but it is a greater one than we have seen yet.

Even in the medieval universities, divided as they were into "nations" given on occasion to violent homicidal brawls, there was a tacit agreement that knowledge itself is international and cosmopolitan. There is hardly a scientific discovery of major importance in any field which is not the result of cumulative research done, bit by bit, by workers in various countries, or which did not occur with complete or near simultaneousness to students separated, perhaps, by a dozen national boundary-lines. Neptune was located at almost the same time by Adams, the Englishman, and Leverrier, the Frenchman; their results were confirmed by Galle, the German. That is the archetypal symbol of modern scientific research.

From sad experience, we no longer contend that science is making war impossible by mere good will and cooperation among

scientists in times of peace, or by the increasing standardization and like-mindedness brought about throughout the civilized world by the distribution of the products of applied science. But in a sense far more vital, the growth of science does mean the eventual end of war. As Emil Ludwig phrases it: "It was possible, in centuries gone by, to establish an approximate monopoly of money, coal, or petroleum through conquest. Today science has destroyed this possibility. In the first place, science always invents precisely what humanity happens to need. . . . Secondly, . . . science triumphs over the elements just in proportion as it returns to them. In the third place, it has transcended all boundaries and has intertwined the widely differentiated raw materials and industrial domains in such a manner that they can no more be readily defended indefinitely than a fortified city in the interior of a hostile country or even an island in mid-ocean. Science has at the same time divested war of its divinity; made it devilish and ridiculous as a pursuit of man. Technique, above all, as a friend of the human race, has reduced to absurdity enmity between peoples, in that it surrendered at the same time to both warring parties and for that reason alone compelled both to unite."

The third and fourth reasons are the most valuable. Substitutes are only temporary and often worthless expedients; and there are many needed techniques which cannot "return to the elements." But the increasing "robotization" of war by advancing mechanization of its means and operation, and above all the interdependence of all nations on one another for the very materials and methods or subsistence, must in the end force civilized humanity (unless it is mad enough to choose universal suicide instead) to find some other means of settling disputes between nations and peoples than the pre-industrial method of murdering each other wholesale. And if this consummation can be brought about, it will be wholly thanks to the advancement of science.

We have already all the necessary foundation for a true internationalism of science and scientists. Today if an astromer discovers a new comet, he does not merely notify the chief observatory of his own nation; wherever he may be in Europe, there is one

international clearing-house to which such information must be sent. A new technique in the treatment of tuberculosis, announced in Berlin, is tried out next month in Paris and London and New York. Einstein comes from Germany to use the resources of the Mount Wilson observatory in California. Pavlov's experiments in Moscow activate Watson in New York. DeSitter brings to America the conclusions he arrived at in Holland. The Japanese Noguchi dies in Africa investigating yellow fever for an American foundation. The Austrian Freud has sown disciples and students all over Europe and the United States. Russia sends for American engineers to help her to industrialize her land. Herrera's biological researches in Mexico are being studied primarily in France. When you tune in on your radio, you may bless—or curse—the German Hertz, the Englishmen Clerk-Maxwell and Lodge, the Americans DeForest and Edison, the Italian Marconi, the Croatian Tesla, the Serb Pupin, and many others. And so it goes. Hardly a single contemporary achievement of applied science, or contemporary discovery or theory of pure science, would or could have existed without the pooling of the efforts of many men of many lands.

If, then, the only hope of salvaging modern society lies with the advancement of science, and if the background and material for true scientific internationalism already exist, and in some part function, what remains to make this international cooperation complete and absolute and unassailable by political quarrels or emotional outbursts? Only this, that in every nation the scientists shall educate themselves, for no one can educate them. They must bring themselves to a realization—not a mere formal agreement—that it is of vastly more importance that X is a physicist and Y an archæologist and Z a biologist than that X is a German and Y a Frenchman and Z an American. The non-scientific and the pre-scientific mind have made a mess of present-day society and have brought it to the verge of destruction. Only the scientific mind—scientific all the way through, not torn between the logic of the laboratory and the emotionalism and chauvinism of the home and the street—can avert that catastrophe. So far only one country on earth seems to be facing that issue; if other nations are to survive and progress

they must come to the same conclusions, however painful it may be to their preconceptions and prejudices. A few sentences from the report of Professor M. Rubinstein to the Second International Congress of the History of Science and Technology, held in London in 1931, are sufficiently illuminating:

"The progress of technical development and the triumph of many over the forces of nature is accelerated with each decade that passes. Substantially speaking, for modern science and technology there are no insoluble problems. . . . Extensive scientific research in the domain of science at the present time cannot be carried on by those individual craft methods which prevailed in this respect even in the nineteenth century. . . . Scientific investigation becomes itself a sort of large scale production organized after the type of industrial plants. . . . The German Professor Bonn was forced to admit, in his book on the United States, that in the U.S.S.R. 'the golden age of science and technology has come' and that this fact is of tremendous international importance." The whole of this inspiring report is well worth reading in the light of the points raised in the present discussion.

Whether we like it or not, and without respect to economic or social theories, the way out for the world in the face of its present situation lies through the paths opened up by science and through them alone; and whether individual scientists like it or not, those paths lead inevitably to a community of nations, working cooperatively on a plane far above the petty antagonisms of rival political governments. The only hope for modern industrial civilization (by whatever economic system it may be actuated) lies in the scientist who can say and sincerely feel, "I don't care if you are white, black, or yellow; I don't care where you were born or what language you speak; I don't care what my politicians think of your politicians. All I am interested in is this: what have you found out in your study of natural phenomena, and how can we cooperate to discover more?"

Whether such an attitude can become common or universal under the social and economic system ruling most of the contemporary world, is unfortunately a question outside the scope of this discussion.

The second article in a Symposium on THE SUBSTANCE OF WORLD COOPERATION—the contribution of the scientist and engineer to international unity and peace.

CHINA'S CHANGING CULTURE

by

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III. The Specific Relation of Christianity to Some Transitional Cultural Problems

THE present situation in China is, therefore, the result of a series of revolutionary movements each of which went deeper into the feelings of the Chinese people than any preceding it. These movements have set up cultural changes which affect the whole life of China though not in equal degree everywhere. Christianity has been one of the factors in this process of cultural change. It is often considered as fundamentally revolutionary in influence and ideals. The chief characteristic of this transitional state is conflict between China's ancient cultural and westernizing tendencies. Inasmuch as this article deals specifically with China's *cultural* situation and the relations of Christianity thereto I shall not refer to the question of religion *per se* in either connection. The further treatment of the subject is easily divided into main divisions. (1) The Specific Relation of Christianity to Some Transitional Cultural Problems. (2) Some Other Transitional Cultural Problems.

It is evident from what has already been said that the relation of Christianity to the cultural changes now emerging in China has been somewhat indirect and secondary. Nevertheless Christianity has been a particular and direct factor in accelerating some of these changes. Every cultural problem in China is moving into a new position. It is well to outline the part Christians have taken in pushing some of these forward and get also some idea of their present efforts for progress along these lines.

(a) *Christianity and the State.*

China has never had a state church. Christians in China are not aiming to have one. In general the state in China has left religion alone except where conflict has arisen between differing systems over political power or social dominance. China has never had a blasphemy law. Laws affecting religion have, as a matter of fact, had little if any place in China's old legal codes. Religion *per se* has in the main been a matter of the individual, the particular religous group or family. Confucianism has until quite recently, however, been the dominant system of thought politically and socially. Until the old classical examination system was abandoned in 1902, Confucianism was also dominant in education. China's rulers also, have, in the main, been Confucianists. The annual state worship of Heaven, discontinued with the abdication of the Manchus, was likewise mainly Confucian in content.

In the modern systems of laws, however, religion is definitely recognized: these laws are not inhibitive. The Constitution of 1923 said, "Citizens of the Republic of China shall have the liberty to honor Confucius and to believe in any religion." In the modern legal codes disrespectful acts against temples, monasteries, nunneries, graves and interference with religious services or worship are punishable offences. In 1927 the Nationalist Government also declared itself in favor of freedom of religious belief and passed a resolution looking to the protection of religious organizations. This resolution also warned the people not to infringe on the religious freedom of either Chinese or foreigners. Recent attacks upon religion in general and Christianity in particular have not been due to official initiative or favor: they are the result of some popular party or group agitiation and activity. It is, however, true that the effort to make religious instruction in school voluntary has both governmental and popular support. This, of course, affects adversely the rights of those religious bodies who wish to make such instruction required.

There has, however, emerged a struggle over religious liberty which, as is evident from the above statements, is not a matter of the state but of certain group and popular attitudes. This is a new

issue in the religious life of China. In the main it is the outcome of Christian initiative and western religious influence. It headed up at first between the erstwhile dominant Confucianists and other religious groups. The Confucianists attacked the religious liberty ideal embodied in the provisional constitution; they next strove to retain their social and ceremonial privileges: they then tried to have Confucianism recognized as the state religion: and finally sought sanction for it as the basis of moral education. They lost out on all counts. The Nationalists are now, as we have noted, seeking to have the sacrifices to Confucius discontinued. This reduction of Confucianism to a position of equality with other religions was largely due to Christian action. Christians organized an anti-state-religion society which for a time functioned effectively. As a result the non-Confucian religions won official sanction to the principle of religious toleration. The struggle for religious liberty thus started is still on. But it is now a popular rather than an official issue. No clarifying definition of religious liberty has yet emerged. Only a comparatively small minority of the people are vitally interested in the problem. Nevertheless for the first time in their history the Chinese are trying to define and establish "religious liberty."

(b) *Christianity and the Family.*

Christianity has not sought by means of public declarations to change family life in China: its influence thereon has been due to the implications of Christian practice.

Strictly speaking marriage in China is not on a *legal* basis. With the exception of laws of inheritance and succession it is a matter of local or group custom; to which Christianity has added its own. Christian influence has been in general adverse to divorce which tends in spots to become easier than it was in China under the earlier and comparatively full privileges of the man to effect it if and when he desired. Divorce does not seem, however, to have been either prominent or popular in China. The problem of birth-control is discussed in radical publications and by small radical groups. Christians share in this discussion to a small extent only. The tendency seems rather to be toward raising the age of

marriage as a check on population than on the adoption of birth-control. There is some sporadic interest in free love. Russian communist influence seems to have caused modern sexual tendencies to loom up in the consciousness of a small proportion of the students. But generally speaking sexual relationships in China are not changing as rapidly as some others: neither are they in the forefront of popular interest. The old Chinese sex-standards are themselves on a high level.

The influence of Christianity on family life has been exerted along a number of lines. Towards "Ancestral Worship" the Christian attitude, mainly missionary, has been negative and derogatory. In general this goes on much as usual and is still considered a major hindrance to the acceptance of Christianity. A fairly general conviction is in evidence that in some modified way it must continue. The tendency in Christian circles is to study it with a view to distinguishing its ethical from its superstitious or theistic (about the existence of these latter there has always been wide divergence of opinion) elements. There is not at present, however, any articulate attempt on the part of Christians to determine the conditions under which it should be continued.

The influence of Christian practice in marriage has been strongly in favor of monogamy. No Christian can marry more than one wife. The attitude, however, towards the secondary wives of those desiring to enter a church varies somewhat with different groups. Some groups require that such secondary wives be divorced before church membership is granted: others admit both them and the man on certain limiting conditions. The general position of Christians on this problem is not very clearly defined. Little attention has been paid in public to this problem for some time. Outside the church there have been determined though sporadic efforts to end concubinage. Recently a prominent nationalist general desired marriage with a Christian woman. To meet the Christian wishes of his fiance and fit into the more advanced views he first divorced, (so it was reported) with proper arrangements for their continued support, his concubines. That incident shows that the tendency towards monogamy is gaining somewhat in strength .

Christianity has also promoted the right to those entering upon marriage to do so on their own free choice. This specific influence of Christianity has been augmented by the modern emphasis on individualism. Family influence and custom, however, is still recognized even among the more advanced advocates of such free choice by admitting the wisdom of consulting elders before exercising it. There is some tendency towards the setting up of smaller and independent homes, in contradistinction to the old family system of having all married sons living with their parents. In general, however, the old family system still wields the major influence.

Considerable attention was given by Christians to "Ancestral Worship" in the Missionary Conference of 1907. Ten years later the China Continuation Committee issued a short report analyzing its good and bad elements. The National Christian Council, the successor to the China Continuation Committee, has a special commission on the home. This commission has studied the conditions and needs of the home in China but has not yet evolved any definite and far-reaching principles that might be expected to affect in general this important social institution. Other Christian organizations are paying attention to the economic and hygienic needs of the home.

(*To be Continued*)

THE KINGDOM OF FREEDOM*

by

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THE current business depression has placed some of our time-honored shibboleths in a doubtful light. Take our attitude toward freedom as an instance. By imperceptible degrees we are coming to the realization that unrestricted individual initiative must give way under certain circumstances to cooperation, coordination, planning and trustification, with the limitations upon the freedom of individual activity that such organized activity always implies. Secretary of War Hurley made this point very clear in a recent address at the Bankers Club in New York: "Never before in the history of this Republic has it been considered the duty of the Chief Executive to mobilize public opinion, to consolidate banks, to get agreements between labor and the employer, to take in charge the forces for the recovery of the nation." Each phrase of this statement bears testimony to some unorthodox departure in the realm of economic activity in peace times. But it is most significant as a symptom of a contemporary trend in social thought. The Chief Executive is not the only public functionary drawn into this new domain. Already a veteran statesman has abortively characterized the new Congress as the "Panacea Congress." And almost every morning newspaper reports some newly concocted panacea for the salvation of America. The multiplication of plans proceeds in direct proportion with the severity of the depression. Whether the factualizing of these panaceas will alleviate some of our admitted ills is beside the point. To the student of society the trend is indicative of an unconscious metamorphosis in our traditional concept of freedom.

*A chapter in a forthcoming book on the New Humanism.

Our concept of freedom had its roots in the social struggles to which the commercial, mechanical, and industrial revolutions gave birth. It became the ideological weapon of the new middle class in dealing the death-blows to a dying feudal and mercantilist society. It signified the victory of private property over feudal property rights, of ownership of land rather than enslavement to it, of division of property over primogeniture; of competition over the guild system, of industry over chivalric indolence, of freedom of speech, press, and assembly over tyrannical absolutism; the victory of the nation over provincialism, of man over The Man. The best interests of society could be served by setting up inviolable safeguards about the individual assuring him complete immunity in the prosecution of his separate activities. Freedom presupposed the absence of necessity. Did not Aristotle regard necessity exclusively as a force which prevents us from acting in accordance with our wishes and compels us to do that which is contrary to them? We were to be free of necessity. The individual was to be given an opportunity to develop. Laisser-faire. In that path alone lay social progress.

The subsequent history of western civilization vindicated the philosophy of our 18th century theorists. The following century presented the progressive unfoldment of affirmative change accomplished under the ægis of a negative philosophy. Natural Law was indefinable law, and Laisser-faire was a permanent injunction issued against meddlers with the status quo. And the wonders that were accomplished! Commerce thrived and invention flourished. An empire of machines transformed our systems of production, transportation, communication, housing, consumption, and entertainment.

But the picture unveiled before our eyes had its blemishes. The story of light had its shadows and strangely enough the closer we approached contemporary times the more ominous these became. Perhaps the medievalists were correct in their æsthetics of beauty. Perhaps the light of beauty can only be appreciated by contrast with the shadows of darkness. We swallowed the theory in the beginning, but not without misgivings. It has become a little

more difficult to swallow nowadays, and still more difficult to digest. The picture is not as beautiful as it seemed to us in days gone by.

Translate this pictorial narrative into its sociological elements and the implications become obvious. Furthermore, the concept of freedom of our middle-class forefathers stands out in its true historical setting with all its possibilities and limitations. We are a society of free men. We conduct our respective business activities without molestation. Government and the law protect us in our separate endeavors. Some of us thrive and some of us don't. We start off from scratch, and may the best man win and the devil take the hindmost. Our competitive strivings result in a society of individual feelings, moods, wills and actions. From such a heterogeneous aggregate of common, cross, and counter individual purposes, feelings and actions, is it not natural that social phenomena should not express the wills of individual persons, but frequently be in direct contradiction of these individual wills? As individuals we make our own history. We follow our own desired ends independent of results, and the aggregate of these many wills acting in different directions produce social phenomena or history. But have we not seen in history that the results of many individual wills produce effects quite other than what was wished and sometimes the very opposite? The recent debacle in the stock market, the impoverishment of the southern farmer, and the current depression are some out of innumerable instances. And yet the canny stock trader, the enterprising farmer, and the shrewd business man acted rationally according to their own lights. Clearly, these social phenomena must have objective validity independent of the consciousness, the feeling and the will of individuals.

The aforementioned definition of Natural Law as indefinable law should now be more evident. Whatever other elements law may possess, it must be a guide for scientific prediction. In this respect the laws of natural science have a definite pragmatic value. But the theorists of the 18th century had a different conception of the nature of National Law. It was fundamentally a philosophy of inaction. Mankind was to be free. Industry and commerce, too.

The optimism of freedom was not to be dampened by the pessimism of necessity. No, not until the light of beauty was bathed in the shadows of darkness.

II

We are human, all too human. When we lose sight of causes we become slaves to their effects. Our thinking ceases to be rational and degenerates into prejudice. Our conception of freedom is a case in point. The inability to interpret the rôle of freedom in its true historical setting has prevented us from forming a correct estimate of its possibilities, and what is more important today, of its serious limitations. We take it for granted without knowing exactly what it is we take for granted.

Are we really as free as we believe we are? Can it not be that we mistake a *feeling* of independence for *real objective* independence? Let us take an example. Mr. A. is a butter and egg man. He does a proportionate business in both commodities. He has $10,000 in idle cash. Shall he buy butter, eggs, both or none? He feels free to do any of the four. What will he do? He decides to put the $10,000 in eggs. Does this mean that his act was causeless and his will independent? Hardly. If he acted as any rational business man would, he first surveyed the market for both commodities, decided which would yield him the best return, and acted accordingly. Any number of other factors might have been involved. He might even have played a hunch. But we may be certain that his deliberate choice of eggs was predicated on some cause. We must not confuse his *feeling* of independence with causelessness. They are two entirely different things.

Let us carry our illustration a step farther. Mr. A. is on his way to the market to purchase $10,000 worth of eggs. He anticipates a group of traders, some eager to buy cheap and others to sell dear. There will be bickering and haggling over price. Does he expect to find the traders engaged in card playing? Hardly. But he would not be surprised if all of them could play cards. Perhaps all of them do so at home. But not in the market. That is no place for card playing. In the market the wills of the traders

are determined by other conditions. Mr. A. will wish to buy eggs cheap. Why? For the simple reason that he is a buyer and his position obliges him to secure eggs for as little as possible. His wish, will, action is determined in this direction.

But if he were a seller? . . . The conclusion is inescapable. People completely contradict in their actions the theory of the freedom of the will. If the human will were entirely independent, estimation and prediction would be impossible. There could be no social action.

These homely illustrations, though they bring out certain socio-philosophical truths, may be supererogatory. But a good portion of western philosophical thought justifies their restatement. The dualist tradition in philosophy, with all its theological implications, has been of immeasurable significance in the conditioning of our minds. The philosophers were agreed that the human body was answerable to the laws of nature. But the mind? It was causeless, timeless, spaceless. No, the workings of the mind could not be explained in physical terms. It was free of such conditioning limitations. Spinoza took these thinkers to task many hundreds of years ago: "They obviously think of man in nature as a state within the state, for they believe that man disturbs nature more than he complies with it; and that he has unconditional power over his actions, being determined from within himself and not from elsewhere." That mind is different from matter no one doubts. But that the one is independent of the other is a matter open to serious doubt. And the dominant thought of today is still farther removed from common sense. Matter is no more. All is mind. Whatever is, exists in the consciousness. So say the solipists. Schopenhauer, in an uncharitable mood, wrote that genuine supporters of this theory could only be found in the insane asylum.

Now this is not the place to present the historical conditions out of which these idealistic theories grew, nor the reasons for their almost universal acceptance. We must accept the fact and ignore the reason. But can one doubt the tremendous rôle that this aristocratic tradition of the intellect has played in causing us to mistake a mere feeling of freedom for real, objective freedom?

Add to this tradition the newly won economic, political and legal freedom of the 18th and 19th century middle class, and we have the logic of a process whereby a supposedly free people became slaves to a figment of the imagination. We *feel* free and *know* we are not. Here is a real paradox.

"But is not your position sheer fatalism?" we hear someone ask. "You make man a victim of the historical process. Does not the accumulated history of the race throw the lie right back at you?" This brings us to the crux of the problem. We are not fatalists. Nor are we idealists who believe that freedom consists in an independence of natural laws. Such a conception of freedom is but a figment of the imagination. Freedom consists in nothing but the ability to come to a decision when one possesses a knowledge of the facts.

III

Man would certainly be freer if he were independent of the inexorable necessities of nature. He might come without pain, live without labor, and go without compulsion. Life would indeed be idyllic. But alas! it is only a dream. We know that he comes in pain, if he would live he must labor, and his taking-off is accomplished without so much as a consultation. These are necessities from which, up to the present at least, there is no escape. To them man must submit.

But man has not accepted his fate with resigned complaisance. He has set for himself, either consciously or unconsciously, the herculean task of mastering the necessities of nature. He well he has succeeded is attested to by his history. He has disemboweled the treasures of the earth and commanded the rivers. The systematic exploitation of nature has freed him from its necessities and has given him new, unimagined freedom. How our ancient ancestors would marvel at the magnificence of modern man! A gentleman of Ancient Greece who had a handful of slaves was wealthy. But how poor is he in comparison with modern man with his millions of electrical slaves! The concomitant advances of technique and science has transformed countless necessities into un-

dreamed of freedom. Pope, in a well-known couplet, had poetical intuition of this process of change.

"Nature and nature's laws lay hid in night;
God said 'Let Newton be!' and all was light."

There was no conquest without submission. But this submission was the condition of his enfranchisement. By submitting to nature man has increased his power over nature. Thus he has enlarged his freedom.

Now what are the philosophical implications of this historical process? The development of humanity exemplifies at each step the transformation of the unknown "thing-in-itself" into the known "thing-for-us." It depicts the transformation of blind, unknown necessity, "necessity-in-itself," into "necessity known to us." Necessity is iron-bound and oppressive only in so far as man has been unable to compel the surrender of nature's secrets. Or in the words of Hegel, "Necessity is only blind in so far as it is not understood." But knowledge of the necessities of nature is the key to freedom.

Freedom is not opposed to necessity, nor is necessity opposed to freedom. Nor are they identical. We might compare the social process to the atom, the protons to freedom and the electrons to necessity. Both are attracted to opposite poles and at the same time there is mutual interaction; they have separate existence as functions and at the same time unitary existence as steps in the social process. They form a unit, not an identity. To the one accustomed to the fixed categories of formal logic this conception of a living unity of opposites must seem a little strange. But that is because the conception will not lend itself to interpretation with the instruments of formal logic. Formal logic presupposes static categories. The conception presented postulates a dynamic reality, constantly in flux, and ever changing. The process of life, not a state of death. The interpretation of *Werden,* not of *Sein.* The formal logician regards things and concepts as distinct, unchangeable, rigid, given once for all, and to be examined one after another, each independently of the others. Yes is yes, and no is no. The dialectical logician regards things and concepts in their connection, their inter-

lacement, their movement, their appearance and disappearance. Yes is no, and no is yes. "Wisdom becomes folly; pleasure, pain."

We have been accustomed to view freedom and necessity as mutually exclusive categories. Freedom as the absence of restraints; necessity as the imposition of restraints contrary to our wishes. It has already been shown how circumscribed the conception of the former is. But is not necessity exclusively a force preventing us from acting in accordance with our wishes and compelling us to do that which is contrary to them? The answer to that is yes and no. To be sure such a necessity is an infringement of our liberty. It is distasteful to all but abject slaves. But a moment's reflection should show how circumscribed such a conception of necessity is. Does it explain man's relationship to the necessities of nature? Obviously not. Man does not consider himself a slave to nature, and yet he abides by its laws if he would live. If he would win the countless freedom which nature offers, he must discover and act by its laws. Our desires and wishes must submit to the exigencies of a situation that requires obedience as the price of freedom. Does it explain man's relationship to man? Let us see. The French Revolution stripped the Bourbons, the feudal nobility, and the Church of their rights and privileges. To them the revolution meant necessity, the necessity of submission to the new order. There is no question but that the revolution was contrary to their wishes and desires. But the same revolution meant something entirely different to the revolutionists. It brought equality before the law, abolition of burdensome feudal and church obligations, abolition of serfdom and the guilds. Can we by any stretch of the imagination deceive ourselves into believing that the newly enfranchised middle class felt itself oppressed by the imposition of unwelcome restraints? It would do violence to the memory of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

And it is precisely this which brings out the dialectical nature of freedom and necessity. Here is involved the logic of contradiction. Freedom and necessity are not mutually exclusive. They constitute opposing poles in a single process. Not only do they coexist, but they interact and out of their mutual interaction is created a

newer and higher freedom qualitatively different from what was before. Thesis—antithesis—synthesis. The life logic. The logic of life.

IV

These are not idle speculations. The lessons of history are not morals for philosophy. Already there are signs that our traditional concept of freedom is undergoing a metamorphosis. The cramped middle class conception that has tyrannized our thinking has failed to solve our new problems. In this lies the explanation for the proposed roads to freedom that come with almost every morning newspaper.

We are commencing to realize that the blessings of freedom have not saved us from the adversities of necessity. But it is a realization pregnant with dynamite. And so our "planners" tread the green grass softly and gingerly lest they do what they want most to prevent. They would be free of necessity without first submitting to it. They would preserve what we have without sacrificing what we must. Yet, their sins of omission are fewer than their sins of commission. Unconsciously, they have given a new meaning to the concept of freedom. For the first time it stands revealed in its dialectical relationship with necessity. This is a dangerous revelation that bodes no good. For when pressed to its logical limits in a planned social economy "Humanity will leap from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom."

THE COMMON MESSAGE OF THE WORLD'S GREAT TEACHERS

by

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MAN DISCOVERS DIVINITY WITHIN HIS OWN SOUL

THROUGHOUT the religious development of the race, man's principal effort centers around his struggle for self-realization and his search for God. As he has moved from a very undeveloped individual up through his more advanced stages he has looked for God in every object and in every force. In the undelevoped stages of animism, he became aware of forces and powers all about him but he thought of them as separate personalities which resided in trees, rivers, mountains, storms, and earthquakes. In the animal worship we find him conscious of certain great life principles and forces, which he identified with this or that animal. In the pagan religions, man gradually became better acquainted with the wonderful characteristics of his own nature. His gods and goddesses were conceived in his own likeness and grew to be definite personalities in the form of men and women. It becomes more and more evident to him that personality represents an important characteristic of divinity. It is true, these pagan gods are imperfect. They have all the envies, jealousies, and lusts of men. But imperfect as they are, they continue a more complete representation of the life of God than does the plant, the storm, or the bull.

In what might be designated as the Law Giver Religions, man came to appreciate his greater powers and some characteristics of his finer spiritual and moral nature. He organized these into his ideal of God as the Great Law Giver, and at the same time as a

great personality placed far above man and quite apart from the things of earth except as He came to interfere in the affairs of men. In the great spiritual religions discussed in this book, man discovers within himself the very essence of divinity. He discovers in his own makeup a soul element which is its own spontaneity and which represents the creative power behind the Universe. It is in the higher religions that the "essential self" the "I am that I am" is discovered.

Man comes to see the life of God in all forms of nature, but he sees within his own better self the most perfect expression of that life. In fact, divinity becomes articulate through and in perfected man. *It is because these great teachers of the world have discovered this divinity within themselves and have revealed to man their finer spiritual nature while yet in the flesh, that the rest of the world has looked upon them as gods.* After all, perhaps this common judgment is not so far from the Truth. It is the revelation of this finer nature of these men that has placed them among the gods. When we realize, as far as intelligence can see, that the characteristics of man's finer nature seem to have no limit to their capacity for growth and unfoldment, the idea of man becoming an expression of the life of God does not seem an impossibility.

In ancient Hindu philosophy the divinity within man is expressed in the following: "Knowledge is Brahman, the soul is Brahman. Thou art that I am Brahman." A quotation cited by Mr. Williams in his book "Hinduism" reads: "In brief the aim of the Tyoga is to reach the means by which the human soul may attain complete union with the universal soul. The fusion or blending of the individual spirit with the supreme Purusha, or universal spirit may be effected even in the body." In fact, the entire program of early Hinduism both in theory and practice is to awaken within man a consciousness of his own divinity and to bring his will and desire to conform to the will and desire of God.

In the Upanishads we have the divinity of man clearly set forth in the following: "This is the God who is the world-worker, the supreme soul, who always dwells in the heart of all men. Those who know him through a mind and a heart that are full of the cer-

tainty of knowledge, become immortal. To realize with the heart and mind the divine being who dwells in us is to be assured of everlasting life. It is Mahatrua, the great reality of the inner being which is the world-worker, whose manifestations are in the outer work occupying all time and space."

A statement taken from "The Philosophy of the Upanishads" by Radhakrishman is even more explicit: "The inner immortal self and the great cosmic power are one and the same. Brahman is the atman, and the atman is the Brahman. The one supreme through which all things have been brought into being is one with the inmost self in each man's heart. What is real in each of us is his self or soul. What is real in the universe is its self or soul, in virtue of which its all is one, and the name for which in our language is God." All this means that with the individual intelligence or human soul there is that something which leads him ever onward in the increase of knowledge, in consciousness of a finer nature within, in ability to control and in the capacity to enjoy. Regardless of the extent of his development in any of these capacities or powers he seems always to reach out for achievements still beyond. His own soul becomes a fountain of life, through which the very essence of divinity springs up and reveals itself in the life beautiful. Man's own intelligence is the telescope through which he sees the wonders of nature and thus as he becomes aware of the depth of his own soul he comes to know God.

In the Bhagavad Gita we read:

"I am like for all! I know not hate,
I know not favor! What is made is mine!
But them that worship me with love, I love;
They are in me and I in them!
Be certain none can perish trusting me!"

The same thought so thoroughly expressed in early Hinduism is also important in the philosophy of Buddhism. "God becomes articulate through man as a representative. God is considered the great universal intelligence and the Buddha does not claim to know his nature although he claims that all Nature is an expression of the life of God." Another statement from Buddhist literature

reads: "Man did not indeed make God in his own image, but he had latent within him god-like and creative powers such as serve training." A quotation from Pember in his discussion of Buddhism carries out the same idea: "Men must wear away their own sins and as soon as they have done so, will become gods."

While Confucius has less to say about God, he lays before us a vivid picture of man's marvelous and god-like qualities. "It is only the man with the most perfect divine nature (most perfectly developed) who is able to combine in himself quickness of apprehension, intelligence, insight, and understanding, qualities necessary for the exercise of command; magnanimity, generosity, benignity, and gentleness, qualities necessary for the exercise of patience; originality, energy, strength of character, and determination, qualities necessary for the exercise of endurance; dignity, noble seriousness, order and regularity, qualities necessary for the exercise of critical judgment." Concerning the extent of man's possible vision he says: "Great as the universe is, man with infinite moral nature in him is never satisfied. For there is nothing so great, but the mind of the moral man can conceive of something still greater which nothing in the world can hold. There is nothing so small, but the mind of the moral man conceives of something still smaller which nothing in the world can split." In another statement Confucius brings out the possibilities for creation and control in the soul of man. He says: "It is only he, in the world, who possesses absolute truth who can get to the bottom of the law of his being. He who is able to get to the bottom of the law of his being will be able to get to the bottom of the law of being of other men. He who is able to get to the bottom of the law of men will be able to get to the bottom of the law of physical nature. He who is able to get to the bottom of the laws of physical nature will be able to influence the forces of creation of the universe. He who can influence the forces of creation of the universe is one with the powers of the universe."

WHITHER BOUND RELIGION?

A Symposium

Collected and Edited by

PAUL RUSSELL ANDERSON
Columbia University

II

ARDESHIR JI EDUL JI

Representative of the Parsees in Persia

FOR a long number of years Ardeshirji Edulji was located at Bombay, India, working on newspapers and writing articles for British journals. For the past few years he has been the representative of the Parsees in Teheran, Persia, where a small group of enthusiastic Zoroastrian followers is gathered and where hopes run high for the revival of the old Persian national faith in the country of its birth.

Ardeshirji is no great enthusiast for Christian missions for he feels missionaries have failed to understand the people with whom they are dealing and the religions they are trying to supplant. Christianity will appeal to people in certain parts of the country because of social bonds such as there are between the Kurds and Nestorian Christians in north-west Persia, but Christianity as a system can never gain acceptance in the country at large. Babism and the Bahâí Faith, he continues, are sapping the vitality of Islam in many sections but they will not last. He considers these as but intermediary ethical stages in the progress toward a new philosophic understanding of the world which he feels can be found for the Persians in a belief not dissimilar to the old Zoroastrian faith, whether in name or only in belief.

There have been misunderstandings of Zoroastrianism, he

feels, which have prejudiced many against the tenets of this faith, without question one of the earliest religious systems. Fire worship, which has been part of the Zoroastrian ritual, is to be interpreted symbolically. It represents light, and light is the good. It symbolizes progress and evolution.

He minimizes the dualism of Zoroastrianism. There are, he says, not two eternal entities, but two spirits which God has created, and thus ultimately all reality is reduced to One. These two spirits are opposed in the world, however. They are the spiritual and material, the positive and negative, the good and evil. The ideal of Zoroastrianism is to get the good to dominate the evil.

Zoroastrianism can actively cooperate with other religious groups, for their necessary beliefs are only two, he claims. These are: (1) the unity of God and (2) the brotherhood of humanity.

Ardeshirji Edulji is kindly, considerate, tolerant, and well-read. His contribution indicates a strain of liberalism in the Zoroastrianism revival in Persia.

Truth being beyond human conception cannot be represented in human language, but through spiritual perception its partial comprehension may be possible to the extent of the capacity of duly endowed individuals; hence no single religion can have a monopoly thereof. It is therefore that different creeds are instituted by different authors at different periods of history, under peculiar circumstances, and represent varied but partial aspects of Truth, suiting the needs of the times and adapted to the capacity of those for whom they were promulgated. The civilized world has since been passing through a series of new and peculiar experiences, representing peculiar periods of human history, and what most strikes us is the new but advanced sense of Religion entertained by many in the civilized world. It is more the ethico-spiritual aspect of religion that now commands the attention of many, and it is on this basis that the fundamental unity of all systems of religion is now being appreciated.

"What the civilized world most needs at the present time is the aforementioned aspect of Religion, and the noble triad of Zoroastrian ethics, Purity of heart, Purity of Speech, Purity of Ac-

tion, is the most practical prelude to this ethico-spiritual awakening of individuals as well as of nations. It was owing to the deep and wide influence of this three-fold formula that nations and civilizations flourished in the distant past in different parts of Mid-Asia. Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, three great and live Semitic religions, display considerable influence of Zoroastrian teachings in their Scriptures.

"This noble spirit of life must be once more imbibed by the civilized world to allow of its uninterrupted progress toward the true goal of life and being, i.e., towards the higher stages of evolution on all planes of human life.

"Though all the different living creeds have their ardent advocates inviting the civilized world to their own 'isms,' I believe that a noble synthesis of science, philosophy and ethics will be the Religion of the Future. All strifes and dissensions as now characterize life in all parts of the world will then terminate, and then and then only will humanity be enthroned in its right place. The last great World War has more than sufficed to open our eyes to the utter absence of any sense of Religion and Humanity, and all western nations, howsoever advanced materially, need the true light of Religion in its right sense and signification. All efforts and endeavors to humanize the race on different lines and as pursued by missionaries of different creeds in ways of their own are bound to fail in so far as the true function of Religion and Humanity remain outside the sphere of their labors.

"The most significant fact in connection with the spirit of the age is the new and unprecedented rôle played by different individuals in different parts of the world. What most interests the people of this section of the world is the disintegration of Islam through forces and factors that have been so far and so successfully appealing to the awakened section of the Muhammedan public as the best prelude to their emancipation from mental and moral thraldom of centuries."

(To be Continued)

YOUTH ANSWERS FOR RELIGION

by

MARION HOLLEY

Chairman, Commission on Religion and Philosophy

AS THE last months of 1932 retreat into a past not soon to be forgotten, it may remain perhaps as one of our outstanding significances that in this year youth came to the rescue of religion. Indeed, an anticipation hopefully based upon promise is deducible from the fact that loud-mouthed intention has neither qualified nor finished this movement. It is one thing to brandish a bucket, but another to fill it and put out the blaze; while a sober approach has much in it to hearten the spectator.

The World Council of Youth, which met for ten days in August, at the California Institute of Technology, escaped the ill-fate of many predecessors. It was not only another conference, but one of meaning to its delegates, and for its followers an omen of that compound of energy and sense which seems the sweetest fruit of any crisis. One hundred and ten persons attended, some sixty of whom represented nations other than the United States. The average age, though varying from early college to middle adulthood, was sufficiently youthful for pliability, and advanced for tough-mindedness. Fortunately also, no meagerness of viewpoint stunted the process of group thinking. Among the participants in the discussions of the Religion Commission were numbered a Hindu; a Buddhist; a Theosophist; several free thinkers: an Atheist; white, colored and Chinese Christians of diverse Protestant sects, as well as Catholics and three Bahá'is.

As one reads over the summary of findings, apart from wonder at extent, there arises a feeling for what might be named a chief characteristic; the stubborn emphasis upon apparently opposing

conceptions, an unsurrendering attempt to reconcile paradoxes. It is curious indeed to find such statements as these in juxtaposition. "Religion has been, and appears to us to be today, the basis of culture. Any attempt to annihilate or suppress religion will tend to result in the annihilation or decline of culture." And yet, "none of the existing forms of any religion are suited to man's needs today." Incomprehensible as such assertions may appear, they do not remain so when looked upon from that higher altitude, the very air of which compresses, inhospitably, contrary views into contributory phases of one thesis. It is a quality of limited mind to lead itself into dilemmas, in which no clear definition of the truth prevails, but only the despairing admission of that truth's obscurity. In the meditations of the gods we may plausibly wish to our warring conceptions the repose of correlation.

Excessively human as these delegates were, no fair estimate will fail to admit for them some measure of success in struggling with our modern perplexities. It is the intent of this paper to point out certain of those struggles, and the unique syntheses attained. Not, be it understood, that their motive was to amalgamate and mingle opposites. A subtler judgment marks the result and seeks the reason in unconscious factors. Perhaps the course of courageous thought always will be known by its growing inclusiveness.

Obviously, the primary problem in any religious discussion is to agree upon what is included in the definition of religion. Although no satisfactory agreement may be reached, an understanding must be. There are two methods of approach to the subject: from the institutional or experiential views. William James, for example, set down a description of experiences, and it is a common thesis that these are the only fundamental aspects of religion. Many present-day opponents damn merely the institution. Religion, as a personal relationship to God—or the mystic force encompassing man and the universe—finds validity both in the undeniable frequency of its manifestations, and in the strength of purpose which it is understood to lend to the moral life. Unfortunately, this brand of religion, having no anchor in objectivity, grows sometimes fantastic, often sentimental, and almost always impractical.

The second approach, the institutional, is one all too familiar to Protestants who count more than three hundred organized sects within their confines. To a stranger it would appear questionable as to whether there are several paths to God, or gateways opening out on many heavens. The vision of the one true church cannot even be distinguished, without spectacles. Institutional religion it is which has borne the strongest fury of critics, while at the same time its staunch defendants rally to support with a vehemence proportionate to necessity. Loyalty and assistance are exacted, but loyalty to what, assistance for what ends?

The Religion Commission condemned equally these divergent positions, a condemnation which was based upon insufficiency. At bottom, the argument draws on those elemental philosophical conceptions which cluster about the phenomena of spirit and form. In this, our earthly province, do we find a form not animated by spirit, or a spirit made visible to us except through form? A problem, which we may be supposed to share equally with the Creator, is that of shaping a vehicle adequately to carry the vital impulse within it. Unpopular religion, then, presents the picture of an institution ludicrously unfit for its task, dimensionally unsuited and plastically malformed. And yet we require the institution, and need as well those rich experiences of personal faith which alone can vivify its functioning.

Religion, therefore, in its minimum definition, must account for two phases, each indispensable to the life of the other and reciprocal in effect. It "is an attitude toward Divinity which is reflected in life," said the Commission, no more a belief in God than commerce is a belief in trade. Religion connotes less than nothing if not a full-bodied activity, an activity not so much derived from that *belief,* as one which flows through the man who has adjusted his soul to God.

By this time it must be obvious that youth who subscribe to religion have little fear of the terminology which so desperately frightens an unbelieving mind. Terminology, transmuted into meaning, loses its painfulness. God, soul, divinity, immortality, faith—these are all words reaccepted by the Religion Commission,

words with a content as definite as that of the older religionists, though necessarily sometimes differing in connotation. The advance of the intellect is marked not only by an increasing vocabulary, but by reinterpretation of the old. However, no gentle agreement with this theory is expected. When we affirm that "the religion of the modern must strive determinedly for the abolition of all prejudices—and for the abandonment of superstition," a reasonable intelligence warns us that here again is a paradox. How can we, dealing in outmoded terms and concepts, yet prattle of the abandonment of superstition?

Unwittingly, the heart of the argument has been touched. Not for long could that traditional quarrel be avoided, the conflict between science and religion, between reason and the emotions, between a naturalistic and spiritual reading of society. How often have we heard it stated that in a comparison of scientific and religious explanations of the origin of the world, the problem of evil, ultimate reality, the origin of ideas, science has in every instance proved the more satisfactory. How long impressed upon us a belief that the concepts of the soul and of the free will find no support in psychology. How drastic the treatment of spiritual influence at the hands of psychoanalysis. In the face of modern research, none but perverse minds could support in continuing faith the stale notions of religion. It was, however, this very perversity to which the delegates of the Commission held. Nor did they content themselves with a circumscribed field of influence. It seemed almost obvious that religion should contribute judgments of value to an otherwise unruly world. Certain too its power as a motive force to "persuade men into the right course of action." But that religion is the esence of culture, its necessary background, the very material upon which the pattern of life is projected, the warp and wool from which it is woven and upon which it depends —this as not so palpable.

It as the considered judgment of the group that religion must partake not only of this widened significance, but that in its encompassing character it will also reach out and include the methods and data of science. "The religion of the modern must satisfy the

intellect." Inasmuch as the reality about which our minds and our intuitions mutually play must be a harmonious and invisible truth, this reconciliation of position should not be impossible. Logic demands it, and an untrammeled sensitivity to perceptions other than those of external experience, recommend and endorse it. Nothing less than strictest adherence to the dictates of intelligence —an intelligence educated and sharpened to the task of clear judgment, grown into an ability to deal with and evaluate the factual contributions of science, receptive to scientific proposals of theory, but no more pledged to mental dogmas than to spiritual, no more susceptible to insinuations of fact from without than from within —no less an objective than this is acceptable to a modern religionist. Whatever faiths are cancelled in the pursuit of such ambition were better cancelled. We would not mourn deceased beliefs, but seek other to fill their places. However, thus far in the course no occasion has arrived to usher out essential religion. Indeed, our latest discussions force us, in fairness to the subject, to take up with new vigor an affirmation almost unfamiliar through disuse.

One of the most imposing of preliminary duties, in the approach to any statement of understanding, is the necessity for denial and condemnation. Thus have we condemned orthodoxy, but atheism as well. Neither science unaccompanied by other interpretations, nor sentimental Fundamentalism will satisfy. No, not even enlightened but limited Christianity answers the requirements. But what remains? Obviously, Humanism.

In a paper of such meager scope, it would be rank presumption to consider this latest of philosophical systems which has been applied to the religious field. The sincerity and ability of its advocats command admiration. It may, however, be of some general interest that the type of religion envisioned by the delegates, far from being solely humanistic, differed profoundly, and in those very issues which are Humanism's surest theories. The attitude toward a God of external reality, "a Being existing independently and unaffected by any human conception—discovered through his (man's) intellect rather than created by his imagination," is an essential of their definition of religion. Moreover, they credit

the great prophets of the past with a power so incommensurate with human capabilities as almost to mark them divine. Though engrossed in human endeavors, they affirm the validity of a personal aspiration towards the more than human. Consequently they do not find Humanism adequate to encompass their total reactions. These are the main points of difference. In other respects, the delegates not only endorsed but vigorously aligned themselves with the tenets and functions of the movement. "The religion of the new type must maintain and increase the humanitarian activities of the present." These constitute, without doubt, the large measure of its objective expression. A curious mind, however, released in a universe as mysterious as our own, cannot limit itself to phenomena of the social order. It cannot even hold itself to those things which it may fully understand.

It requires no unusual acuteness of hearing to distinguish those dissatisfied expressions of opinion, following the completion of this report. Whether our acquaintances cry blasphemy or retrogression, the disappointment lingers on. Children of compromise must be prepared for attack from all camps. But the compensation lies in this—that for us the compromise appears a higher synthesis, and the effort to achieve and proclaim it places us, not with iconoclasts, nor yet with traditionalists, but rather in the front ranks of those unfashionables whose opinion does not accord with any trend of the day.

Unorthodox youth, international and organized, has for the first time in unremembered years rallied to religion. What do our contemporaries make of it?

CORRESPONDENCE

World Unity Memorial to David Starr Jordan

I was so pleased to see the reference to the great teacher, David Starr Jordan, in the March number of World Unity. I am glad that your journal will act as the official organ for the movement to be associated with the great name. Knowing Jordan well personally I can imagine that he himself would have regarded it an honor to be taken hold of by a journal which has already established itself in such a high and unique position in the world of thought and of human endeavor as has World Unity—even though we honor ourselves in so doing.

My own contacts with Jordan were many, both in the scientific field and that of international relationships. The first contact was in the year of 1906 when the great man did that very thing which helped to make him so great throughout his whole life. I mean to say that what he did in my own case was quite typical of what he did constantly—the putting out of encouragement, commendation and inspiration to young workers everywhere. Not knowing me previously he took the trouble to write me personally and also to write to the Department of State which employed me at the time, giving personal commendation for a piece of scientific (fisheries) work which I had done (my book "Fishes of Australia"). Correspondence which followed indicated to me—and to him if I may say it in all modesty—how closely related we were in thought; both as regards the cultivation of natural history, scientific education, fisheries and conservation measures on the one hand, and, on the other, the powerful and pressing need for fighting the menace of universal fear and international mistrust which was threatening the world's very existence.

In 1912 he was in Australia on one of his occasional visits, and then gave one of the most impressive series of addresses probably of his whole career—a galaxy of inspired discourse on human

affairs entitled the "Human Harvest."Each lecture was the most remarkable and the most forceful that I have ever heard. Each was crowded with epigrams, individually worthy of being the text of a whole evening's discourse.

In 1915 it was my great privilege to stay with him for a short time at Stanford University. The outstanding memory that I carried away was of the prodigious respect shown him by all and sundry about the University and in the town of Palo Alto (whither he took me to address a day audience). Wherever we went about the University, students and members of various faculties alike stood in something like reverential awe as the great man passed. It fell my lot, at the request of the master, to address a gathering of professors and teachers at the University; but I fear that I did not make a very good showing as I felt very oppressed with the thought of what the audience must have expected of a friend of the Master himself. Later, in 1924, when his health was beginning to fail, it was also my privilege to be on the same "bill" as Doctor Jordan one evening at Honolulu when we were both to give addresses on international brotherhood. Again the respect of the multitude was most marked.

At every stage Jordan was a most extraordinary builder of men and women, so that unlike many men who only figure as giants among pigmies it may be truly said that he became a giant among giants—and today many great men of America and of the Orient owe much of their mental stature to the inspiration of the great teacher. Yet he never lost the child's heart. I often thought that old Mencius would have loved Jordan and most truly have had an understanding of just such a man when he said: "Blessed is he who keepeth the child's heart."

Leaving out of consideration for the moment his vast work in science and educational advancement, I would say that the value of his work for international understanding and world unity is incalculable. And he left thousands of apostles—many of whom had at one stage been scoffers. In this connection I would like to quote here the words of a leading article published in a California paper (San Francisco Call, January 19, 1921).

"The time will surely come when men will look back and wonder about David Starr Jordan—not wholly able to understand the blindness of the age in which we live. In the most desperate period of the world's history he had the courage to believe that men, deep in their hearts, really wanted most what they seemed to want least."

"While the world was at war he continued to have faith in the blessing and wisdom of peace. Learned scholar, understanding teacher, brave idealist, he was one of that small and suffering band of men who labored to keep humanity sane while all their fellows sank deeper and deeper into madness and desperation.

"He might have struck his banner—with apparent honor; he chose to fight onward—to apparent defeat. And so, today, on the seventieth anniversary of his birth, he may truthfully look back on his life and know that he has made of it a lasting and inspiring success.

"Most men have more claim on reverence at birth than at any other moment in their lives. It is part of the beautiful strength of David Starr Jordan's life that on this day, when he spans the allotted three score years and ten, he is more deserving than ever of the love and reverence of his fellows. He is one of those men, concerning whom the world always reverses its judgment."

DAVID G. STEAD

"Boongarre"
Watson Bay, N. S. W.
Australia

WORLD UNITY ENDORSES GOAL OF FEDERATED WORLD

by

HORACE HOLLEY

FAR more significant than the desperate confusions and violences of this epoch is the fact that humanity's ideal forces can at last seek moral unity in one definite goal.

Up to this modern age, the world's latent idealism has been nullified by the diversion of society into separate territorial groups, each justifiably considering itself a true sovereign entity with a distinctive governmental form, religious doctrine, economic system and cultural character of its own, so necessary for the very existence of the group, and so dissimilar to the political, religious, economic and cultural scheme of the other groups that reconciliation has appeared impossible and unattainable.

The complete breakdown of territorial isolation—the source and practical justification of the philosophy of conflict—has given our time a new character, a new range of possibility, which has actually reversed the entire trend of human evolution. While progress in the past meant development toward successful group isolation, marked by separate sovereignty, progress today means exactly the opposite; development toward inter-dependence, toward mutuality, toward a shared and not an exclusive responsibility.

The result of this profound change in the status of territorial, boundaried societies is to challenge and compel every conscious individual to choose between exclusive loyalty to one limited group and loyalty to mankind as a whole.

The choice has already been made by millions of people on the plane of action who would deny it on the plane of thought. But all who depend upon foreign markets and foreign sources of goods and materials, testify to the economic oneness of the human world.

All who resent the power of another nation to condition, by threat of war or otherwise, the power of their own nation, testify to the political oneness that links together in one chain of cause and effect the wholly illusory independence and separateness of our modern states. All who benefit by medical attention testify to the extra-national character of human knowledge.

Thousands of years have served to mould individual character so as to respond instinctively to every demand of its territorial group, and to interpret such response religiously—as conforming to the basic law of the right to survive. But this mould has been shattered. Reason and experience now confirm the unbounded human loyalty upheld by the prophets, as it grows evident that the end of every limited loyalty is the supreme disaster of war. To be loyal to our fellow-citizens today we must be loyal to the true principles of human association upon which every territorial society is firmly established. The old emotional, irrational appeal to trial by battle, whether the battle be military, economic, religious or cultural in form, no longer corresponds to the principle of survival and therefore no longer represents a loyalty but a positive betrayal of those to whom such appeal is made.

The choice has likewise been made by many on the plane of thought who see no way to transform their new attitude of world loyalty into useful action. They recognize the unbroken chain of cause and effect that holds together in one spiritual environment all nations and peoples of East and West; they realize that human evolution has brought us from the stage of conflict to the stage of cooperation, but they appreciate the vital need of an unimpaired national government as the only existing instrument of law and order. Until 1914 they hoped that nations had become sufficiently civilized to abstain from actions precipitating the degradation and calamity of war. Since 1919 they have hoped that the League of Nations would supplement this instrument with a new mechanism adequate to the task of maintaining peace between the nations.

Such hope must be abandoned.

Without international union, the national states, under the pressure of mutual fear, are forced to maintain a war system that

crushes humanity even without an outbreak of war. This system has permeated business, industry and even education, corrupting all phases of domestic politics and blinding the people to the reality of their own souls. Modern national states merely swing between the two extremes of foreign war and domestic revolution. It was these states, essentially antagonistic and immoral, which created a League of Nations as receiver in bankruptcy of the ruin that marks the final termination of an historic epoch. The League itself is the victim of the situation and bears no responsibility for any failures incurred during its brief existence. But can the League, without organic change in its relationship to the member states, be expected to evolve and gradually succeed?

The League of Nations has no world jurisdiction and no power to enforce world justice. It endures from year to year by mere suffrance of its member states, all of which retain full control over their internal policies and social development. Idealism can recognize in this mechanism nothing more effective than the fact of voluntary conference and a passive opportunity for the birth of a true world state. Its capacity for action is measured by the least internationally minded of its constituents at any and all times. But social evolution as a whole does not proceed at this lagging pace. The economic depression has come to remind us that the world is still fundamentally disorganized and organically disunited, and that the increasing burden of our common social problems demands the exercise of collective intelligence and collective will. Until the world attains intelligence and will, our social problems can but grow more oppressive and acute.

The union and solidarity of the world's ideal forces, pitted against themselves throughout history, in the conflict of political, economic and religious systems, can now be attained as the result of the fact that human intelligence when supplied with the dynamic of spiritual insight and moral impetus, may set up and move steadily toward a world goal. Since intelligence can no longer be confined within any territorial boundary, but takes the world as its rightful area, it has become inevitable that, under the pressure of catastrophe, the same capacity for organization which has pre-

viously exercised itself upon the formation of ordered nations will be devoted to the goal of world order.

In accepting world order as goal, the individual saves himself from choosing between the impossible alternative of his own nation and his own world. No such choice actually exists. The choice lies between his own nation in a world of overwhelming violence and his own nation in a world of cooperation and peace.

The proposal that the civilized nations, by appropriate action, adopt federal unity, as the American colonies federated themselves one hundred and fifty years ago, appears to offer the only solution of the social problems laid upon this age. A federated world retains each and every national state with sovereignty in its own area, but properly subordinates the nations to a world government functioning for the whole body of mankind. If a nation is required to abandon the right to declare war, it is given the superior right of not having any other nation declare war against itself. If a nation is forced to abandon its right to adopt a competitive tariff, it is given the far more effective right of trading in the world market under conditions intended to make that market fully active and profitable.

This proposal has been advanced in *World Unity* by an American attorney, Carl A. Ross, in a series of articles based upon careful study of American colonial experience. The proposal is renewed in the present issue by Oscar Newfang, who first advocated the federal principle in a work published in 1922. A survey of current social thought would doubtless reveal many other appeals to the same principle. As long ago as 1912, speaking in the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Ascension, New York City, 'Abdu'l-Bahá said, "The United States may be held up as the example of future government, that is to say, each province will be independent in itself but there will be federal union protecting the interests of the various independent states."

World Unity believes that the time has come to concentrate every resource upon the attainment of this definite world goal. The period since the European War has been one of blind and instinctive response to an unprecedented situation. This period of groping has come to an end. It is possible at last to fuse understand-

ing and will into one supreme resolve that the sole plan capable of bringing order out of chaos shall be made a public issue and gather to itself friends and supporters from every people and every land.

To this end *World Unity* will devote itself, accepting the ideal of a federated world as the focal point of all social aspirations which have been expressed in the magazine since 1927.

The task is far more than political in character. It requires the fullest measure of positive religious fellowship, to overcome that sense of alien and estranged foreignness which still separates races and peoples in the depths of the heart; it requires the fullest measure of constructive public education, that the very springs of conflict may be dried up and human motives re-energized by the spirit of cooperation; it requires a far higher degree of mutual planning and common action on the part of the myriad organizations now promoting some one or other aspect of world unity, such as Disarmament, International Court, or international action on tariffs or war debts. Above all, the task requires a deepening sense of social responsibility among all adult men and women not submerged in the sea of poverty and hence able to represent the best interests of the "forgotten" mass.

The attainment of world federation is a new measure of social achievement. It means the movement of humanity forward from collective ignorance to collective knowledge, and from social anarchy to order in the true meaning of that term. While the advantages of federal union are obvious in the negative sense of preventing war, the positive advantages are ultimately vastly more important. Those positive advantages will arise from the creation by and in humanity of an organic mind, and will and heart. Beneath the tragic incidents of these crucial years, this outcome can be discerned as the final meaning of so much bitter suffering and desperate grief. *Man in conflict with his fellows is man separated from his own inner reality. The path to God lies in the promotion of human values emanating from souls inspired with a vision of the oneness of mankind. Society is an expression of man's collective spirit.*

BOOK NOTES

National and Imperialism in the Hither East, by Hans Kohn. Harcourt, Brace. Hans Kohn's earlier book, *A History of Nationalism in the East,* was a remarkable achievement. It was executed not only in a most thorough and systematic way, but it was also written with a sensitive understanding. The same can be said of this.

There is little that is geographically attractive about Arabia or Egypt. Only at wide intervals are their stretches of arid steppes and barren deserts spotted with oases, and possessing few mineral deposits, for centuries after the crusades the region was treated with disdain by the monarchs and slowly appearing bourgeois of Europe. It came to have an usefulness for trade routes, but when these were closed by the Turks and America was discovered, it was again neglected. With the growth of importance of India and the Far East this region grew in importance too. Napoleon vied with England for it, and over its railroad, harbor and oil concessions Germany and Russia competed with increasing intensity with England before the War.

This rivalry over the region continues, with the place of Germany temporarily taken by France. But there is another element which complicates the situation now which did not exist in 1914. Whereas before, the native populations were inert and passive, now they are aroused, self-conscious, and aggressive, jealous and suspicious of European imperialism. It is of this highly complicated and explosive situation that Herr Kohn endeavors to treat, and one must admit he does an excellent performance. Without rhetoric, but with the same thoroughness and understanding which he achieved in his earlier volume he interprets and expands official reports by personal observations, and it is really the most excellent thing we have on this agitated region.

The Causes of War, by Sir Arthur Salter, Sir J. Arthur Thomson, and others. Edited by Arthur Porritt. Macmillan.

World Problems, by M. D. A. R. von Redlich. Social Science Publishing Company.

The first of these books is a notable contribution to literature on peace and war. It is not the kind of systematic inquiry that one would expect from a research council, and its value lies in that. It

is a book written not by scholars but rather by men of affairs and their chapters are pages from a history they themselves have not only thought over but worked over and faced in innumerable questions of daily and personal interest and concern. Sir Arthur Salter's statement on the economic causes of war and G. A. Johnston's on industrial and labor influences are so judicious and penetrating they are certain to acquire the force and popularity of classical treatments. Both are as compact as they are thoughtful and Mr. Johnston in particular presents his ideas in a concrete way which one cannot but highly recommend to other writers on international affairs as worthy of assiduous imitation. Mr. Wickham Steed's analysis of political causes is characteristically good: one has learned to associate Mr. Steed with gifted work. I propose that his discussion on disarmament ought to be extracted and sent as a document to the State Department. Not that his thesis is novel. It is what Madariaga and others have said again and again with ample illustration and what any student of international events certainly knows by this time, that disarmament is not going to be solved as a problem in itself. But our State Department does not know it and the great pageants of futile "disarmament conferences" still continue. The conferences which are going to disarm nations, Mr. Steed intimates, are the conferences that are going on every day of the year under the auspices of the League. It is this kind and only this kind that can, by patient, persistent, interminable effort settle disputes that make for war.

Dr. Redlich has had wide experience as a legal adviser to the Persian Government in this country. By the emphasis which he lays on a very necessary problem involved in the Kellogg Pact, he does good service. This problem is the definition of aggression.

SMITH SIMPSON

World Disarmament: Its Problems and Prospects, by Denys P. Myers. World Peace Foundation. Denys P. Myers, of the Research Department of the World Peace Foundation, is one of that comparatively small group of American professional students of international affairs which has come into being almost entirely through personal initiative, in lieu of the influence of the long colonial

tradition in England and the aristocratic conception of diplomacy in Europe generally. Such organizations as the World Peace Foundation, themselves typically American in that they likewise arise from personality rather than traditional interest, afford the necessary social leverage corresponding to a job in the India Company of the old days in England. Mr. Myers has built this book in two parts—Elements of the Problem, and The Meeting of the World's Minds, with valuable Appendices. To the ordinary reader, the book offers a sound approach to the involved discussions which have been going on at Geneva.

The Joy of Ignorance, by T. Swann Harding. William Godwin, Inc. In this book a scientifically trained mind turns itself to an examination of the standards of truth set up in the business world. The author passes upon the claims made by well known advertised products, especially those which are supposed to contribute to health, and finds them utterly unfounded. He passes on to the examination of the general nature of these standards and shows that they are inadequate to carry the weight of a scientific economy. Written with enthusiasm, the book can be taken as the first signs of revolt upon the part of technicians against the falsehoods and unreality sanctioned by the profit motive in modern business. Those who have worked for small salaries in laboratories have learned too much about the main office! As an indication of a new tendency among scientists to assert real standards of truth, the work is important as well as highly informative.

From Intellect to Intuition, by Alice A. Bailey. Lucis Publishing Company. The author is one of those few people who can truly evaluate the capacities of mind, realizing consciousness from both the Oriental and Occidental points of view. At a time when the social crisis is so generally considered merely political or economic in character, Mrs. Bailey stands as witness to the fact that the crisis is actualy within the race itself. In this work she points the way to a larger employment of conscious personality than has been expressed either in the East or the West. The book carries a sense of pioneering valiantly undertaken in the mental world.

H.H.

ROUND TABLE

In 1927, when *World Unity* was established, the statement of purpose adopted in order to explain the magazine was based upon realization of the vital need for the promotion of a world outlook. The degree of preliminary internationalization achieved since the European War in the League of Nations, in various treaties and in the acceptance of frequent conferences between economic leaders as well as states, obviously rested insecurely upon a stormy sea of mass prejudice or indifference. The "race between education and catastrophe" was by no means won.

World Unity has accordingly for five years concentrated its effort upon the publication of articles bringing the world view to current problems not merely in the political but also, and more emphatically, in the social realm—most notably, perhaps, in the problem of religion. It appeared so important to stress the fundamental world *attitude* that no definite program or policy could at that stage be chosen for exclusive support.

A new stage has now come in the progress of events. Harmony and agreement on ultimate ends, with complete lack of agreement on the necessary means to attain them, plainly leaves the initiative and decision to those forces which have long been united as to means as well as to ends. Nationalism, with its tremendous historic momentum, holds the reins of world affairs. Idealism has become little more than an anxious observer of approaching storm.

* * *

Without definite program, the world's ideal forces can only serve as victim in the titan struggle now imminent because completely prepared. Under such circumstances, *World Unity* has felt compelled to choose the one concrete objective that appears to fulfil every legitimate and sincere human aspiration. With this issue, the influence of this magazine, as stated elsewhere, will be

exerted on behalf of the federated type of world organization, the distinctive feature of which is a central World State. Nothing short of this clear and definite aim can, in our opinion, give real embodiment to the "spirit of the new age" so powerfully manifested in the progress of science and in the rise of non-sectarian religion.

Since, as we are convinced, the final struggle between progress and reaction will be fought out on this issue—perhaps during the present decade—we request the full-hearted support of every reader for the goal of world federation.

* * *

In liberal circles throughout the United States and Canada, the passing of Alfred W. Martin has been keenly felt. Mr. Martin had not only a true world ethic; his graciousness, courtesy and sympathy provided for that ethic a dynamic influence exerted by too few exponents. To mental understanding he brought the reinforcement of a beautifully lived life.

His connection with *World Unity* was intimate. It was at the suggestion of an editor that he prepared the series of articles on religion later published by the Stokes Company as the book entitled "Seven Great Bibles." *World Unity* cooperated in its publication by assuming responsibility for one thousand copies, a few hundred of which are still available.

* * *

The photograph of David Starr Jordan published in the present issue was furnished through the courtesy of Mrs. Jordan.

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WORLD UNITY MEMORIAL

To DAVID STARR JORDAN

The name of David Starr Jordan has become associated with faith in the reality of world peace. His contribution to the peace ideal was made at the highest level of human achievement, through the power of a personality uniting scientific intelligence and spiritual aim. In his life and work an age striving to throw off the intolerable burden of organized conflict grew more conscious of its capacity for progress and more determined to attain the goal of cooperation and accord.

In order to give continuance to Dr. Jordan's vision and attitude, never more needed than in this period of confused purpose and ebbing courage, it is proposed by a number of his friends and associates to establish a World Unity Memorial to David Starr Jordan.

The purpose of this Memorial is to make possible the wider diffusion of Dr. Jordan's important statements on peace and international cooperation by magazine and pamphlet publication, in a form rendering them available to peace workers throughout the world, and to encourage the rise of the peace spirit among the new generation of college students.

It is the privilege of World Unity Magazine to serve as the organ of the David Starr Jordan Memorial, under the auspices of a Committee representing the scholarship of America, Europe and the East.

Friends of David Starr Jordan, and friends of world peace, may assist in the realization of the purpose of the Memorial by contributing toward the modest expenses involved. A contributing membership may be secured for five dollars; a student membership for two dollars; a life membership for ten dollars. Copies of all Memorial publications will be furnished members without charge.

In addition to the publication of David Starr Jordan's most important statements on the subject of peace, the Memorial will offer an annual prize for the best essay on world cooperation submitted by any college undergraduate.

WORLD UNITY MEMORIAL TO DAVID STARR JORDAN
4 East 12th Street, New York City
(*Sponsored by Mrs. David Starr Jordan*)

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WORLD UNITY DISCUSSION GROUPS

Many people, especially in the United States, feel the need of intellectual stimulus and a more adult approach to the special social problems of this troubled age. They have become uneasily aware of the fact that the possibilities of human intercourse are by no means exhausted by business contacts, golf, bridge, cocktail parties and casual conversation.

Unquestionably, every community, however small, contains matured men and women who crave the reinforcement and fulfillment of a congenial group which, without oppressive formality or the limitations and expense of an organized club, can permit a mutually helpful exchange of opinion on important current events and general world outlook.

As a basis of common interest, a focal center for group thought, *World Unity Magazine* has a distinct field of usefulness. Its articles mirror the richly varied events and subjects of the day, but aim to set forth true principles without propaganda. It works for deeper understanding and not to influence belief or promote action.

One alert individual in a community at this time can render a very real service to his or her friends and associates by forming such a group and contributing the initial stimulus required to release the latent powers of group discussion and consultation. Each issue of *World Unity* will provide more than enough "starting points" for an interesting evening of free mental exchange.

In making this suggestion, *World Unity* has no thought of attempting to organize any groups of this nature that may develop. The dynamic of the project is that each group remain both informal and free to develop in its own way.

The real point is, whether we are right in assuming that America contains a great number of people who are unsatisfied by the present childish arrangements of human intercourse.

Address correspondence on this subject to Managing Editor, World Unity, 4 East 12th Street, New York, N. Y.

ORDER BLANK

"It has been very encouraging to see the warm reception which WORLD UNITY has received and to note its constant progress. There was room for a magazine which should devote itself to a non-partisan discussion of the intellectual and moral aspects of world cooperation and international movements, and WORLD UNITY has met this need in a most satisfactory manner."—*John Dewey.*

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